



J. Wale del.

*The Trial of Lord Strafford.*

J. Collier sc.

*Published as the Act directs, 1 Oct. 1774, by J. Johnson, St Pauls Ch Y.<sup>d</sup>*



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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
ENGLAND,  
FROM THE  
INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR,  
TO THE  
DISSOLUTION of the Present PARLIAMENT.  
ADORNED WITH PLATES.  
IN FOURTEEN VOLUMES.

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By JOSEPH COLLYER,  
Author of the NEW SYSTEM OF GEOGRAPHY,  
in Two Volumes Folio.

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VOL. X.

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MDCCLXXIV.



*Habit of a Lady of Quality in 1640.  
From Vandyke.*



THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
ENGLAND.



CHARLES I.



HE Scots having nominated commissioners for the treaty, they met those of the king, in the earl of Arundel's tent, and were on the point of entering on the treaty, when the sudden appearance of the king shocked the Scotch commissioners, who instantly concluded, that his majesty intended to over-awe them by his presence; they therefore avoided entering into particulars, and only said, that all they desired was to be secured in their religion and

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liberties. The earl of London being full of ardour, afterwards began to harangue, but was interrupted by Charles, who told them, he would not admit of their excuses for what was past; but if they came to sue for grace, they must set down their desires in writing: on which the Scotch deputies set down the following demands: that the acts of the late assembly at Glasgow should be ratified in the ensuing parliament; that all ecclesiastical affairs should be determined by the assemblies of the kirk, and those of a civil nature by parliament; that his majesty's ships and forces by land, be recalled; that all persons ships and goods arrested, be restored; that all the incendiaries and informers against the kingdom, who had caused these commotions for their own private ends, might be given up, to suffer their deserved censure and punishment. In the course of the negociation, the Scots told the king, that if he would allow them to enjoy their religion and their laws, they would, at their own expence, transport their army to assist in recovering the Palatinate\*.

Charles was now in the utmost perplexity. After he had published the horrible rebellion of the Scots; after his having levied a powerful army, and fitted out a fleet to defend England against their attacks, these reputed rebels, these barbarous robbers and invaders, in a pacific manner, throw themselves at his feet, and implore leave to enjoy their civil and religious

\* Sydey's State Papers, vol. ii. pag. 602.

rights, and that those incendiaries, who had endeavoured to set two neighbouring kingdoms, united under one sovereign, at variance, might be tried by the laws of their country, and receive the punishment they deserved. The reasonableness of these desires could not be disputed, and were they peremptorily refused, the people would be convinced, that the Scots had more reason for their opposition than he was willing to allow. He therefore suddenly concluded a pacification with only general stipulations, That the king should withdraw his fleet and army; the Scots dismiss their forces; the king's forts be restored to him; his authority be acknowledged; and a general assembly and parliament be immediately summoned, in order to compose all differences.

When the assembly met, they voted episcopacy to be unlawful in the kirk of Scotland; stigmatized the liturgy and canons as Popish, and denominated the high-commission tyranny. The parliament, which sat afterwards, were proceeding to ratify the acts of this assembly, when Traquaire, by the king's order, prorogued them.

Charles's pride was hurt by his not having been able to chastise the Scots, and on his return to London, his resentment was inflamed by the queen's upbraiding him with cowardice, for having lost the opportunity of crushing rebellion in its bud, and of making such an example of the Scots, as would deter others from attempting to oppose his authority. Laud was in a rage against all who had any hand in the



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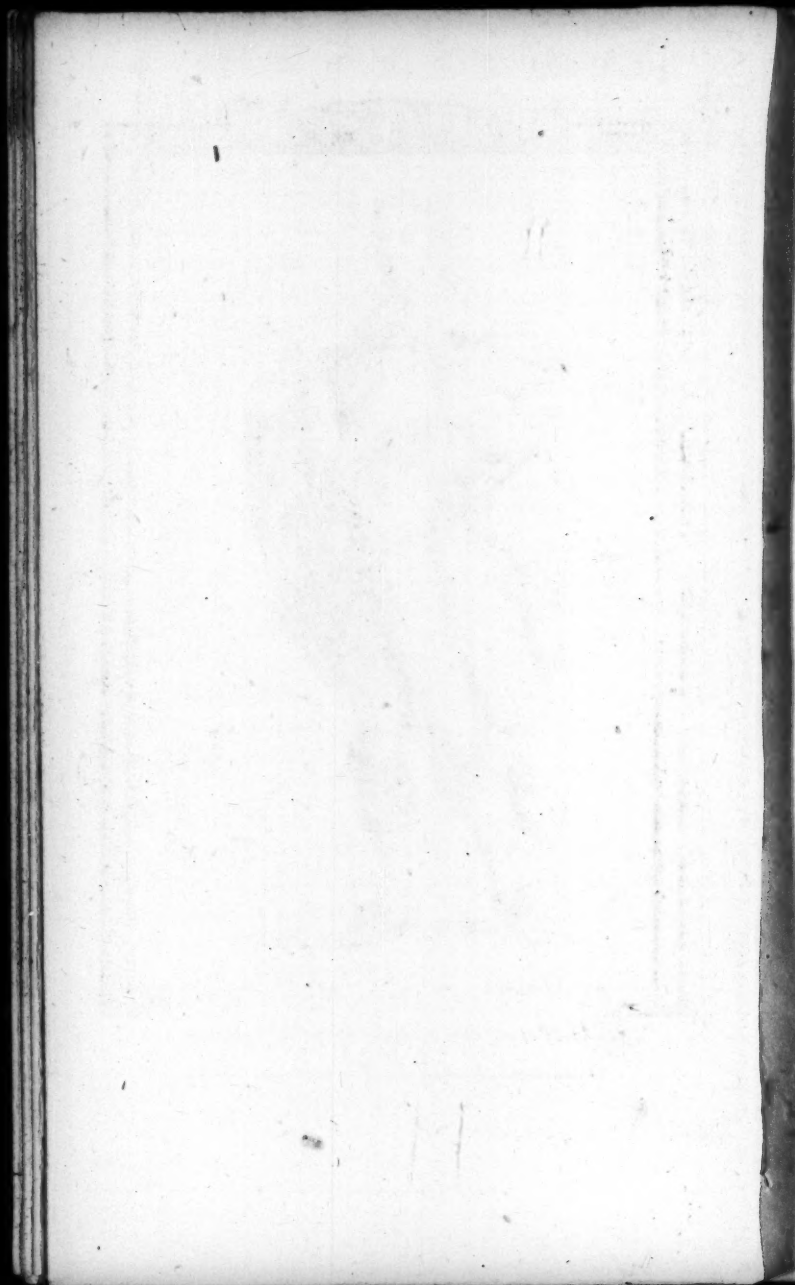
pacification ; and yet the necessity of the king's affairs obliged him to disband his army : on the other hand, the covenanters knowing that their pretensions were contrary to the king's inclinations, and that they should probably be again obliged to have recourse to arms ; on dismissing their troops, had ordered the officers to be ready on the first summons ; and warned the soldiers not to think the nation secure from an English invasion. The Scots had entered a public protest, that by the pacification they did not intend to vacate one of the proceedings of the late general assembly at Glasgow. This paper the king ordered to be burned, and a proclamation was issued, commanding all persons, who had any copies of it, to deliver them to the justices of the peace. These and other proceedings soon shewed that the king had resolved to renew the war ; and the religious zeal which animated the Scots, made them immediately fly to their standards, as soon as the trumpet was sounded.

The king, with great difficulty, found means to levy an army ; and though the courtiers were taxed for their quotas, and ship-money exacted with the utmost rigour, he found his revenue insufficient to pay his troops. An English parliament must therefore now be assembled, after above eleven years intermission ; in which the liberty of the people had been invaded with a high hand, and every irregular method of taxation tried.

The parliament was summoned to meet on the eleventh of April 1640, to the inexpressible joy



*Habit of an English Gentleman  
in 1640.*



joy of all the lovers of liberty. The lord-keeper Finch discovered the king's wants, by informing the two houses, that his majesty had been able to assemble and subsist his army not from his revenue, but by contracting a large debt of above three hundred thousand pounds; for which he had given security upon the crown lands. He represented, that it was necessary to grant supplies for the immediate and urgent demands of his military armaments; that the season was far advanced, time precious, and none of it must be lost in deliberation.

The commons, however, spent the first day of the session in reading petitions, poured in by several counties, against ship-money, projects, monopolies, the transactions of the high-commission court, the star-chamber, and other grievances. They then entered into a debate on the oppressions under which the people had laboured; and several animated speeches were made upon that occasion, which were concluded by Pym, in a discourse which held above two hours, and in which he, with great judgment, enumerated all the oppressions of the times. The house then ordered, that the records and proceedings in the star-chamber and king's-bench, concerning several members of the house in the last parliament, should be immediately sent for, and a select committee appointed on the violation of the privileges of parliament; and that the records, enrolments, judgments, and proceedings in the exchequer, and all other courts concerning ship-money, should also be sent for.

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The house then began with examining the behaviour of the speaker, the last day of the former parliament, when he refused, on account of the king's command, to put the question; and they declared it a breach of privilege. They next proceeded to enquire into the imprisonment and prosecution of Sir John Eliott, Holles, and Valentine: the affair of ship-money was canvassed, and grievances were regularly classed under three heads; innovations in religion, the property of the subject, and privileges of parliament. The king seeing an inexhaustible field opened, pressed them again for a supply; and finding his message ineffectual, came to the house of peers, and complaining of the commons, desired their lordships not to join with them. The peers voted, that the supply should have the precedency, and that there should be a conference with the house of commons, in order to dispose them to it. The commons had always claimed the granting of supplies, as their peculiar privilege; and the advice of the lords on this subject was no sooner reported to them, than they unanimously voted so unusual and unprecedented an interposition, to be a high breach of privilege; and that they could not proceed upon any other matter, till they had first received satisfaction from the upper house. The lords seemed at first determined to resent the free expostulations of the commons; but became at length sensible of their error, acknowledged the privileges of the commons, and desired them to proceed



ceed on the important affairs of the kingdom, after their own manner.

Charles, in order to bring the matter of supply to some issue, sent a new message to the house; and finding that ship-money gave a great alarm and disgust, offered to abolish it entirely, by any law which the commons should afterwards think proper to present to him; but first demanded a supply of twelve subsidies, about six hundred thousand pounds, payable in three years; demanding, at the same time, a positive answer, as his affairs were in such a condition as could endure no longer delay.

Though the majority was against complying with this measure, the king had never more friends in any house of commons; and the debate was carried on for two days on both sides, with great zeal and warmth. The partizans of the court urged, that the happiest occasion was now offered for removing all disgusts and jealousies between the king and people, and for reconciling their sovereign for ever to the use of parliaments: that to repose a reasonable confidence in the king, and generously to supply his present wants, would be an effectual means of gaining on his generous nature, and extorting, by a gentle violence, such concessions as were requisite for the establishment of public order.

On the other hand, it was urged, that the court had discovered but few symptoms of that mutual trust and confidence to which they now so kindly invited the commons: that eleven years intermission of parliaments, the longest  
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that was to be found in the English annals, was a sufficient indication of the jealousy entertained against the people; or rather of designs formed for the suppression of all their liberties and privileges: that if the same grievances, ecclesiastical and civil, under which this nation itself laboured, had pushed the Scots to extremities, it was not necessary that the English should forge their own chains, by imposing chains on their unhappy neighbours: that the ancient practice of parliament, was to give grievances the precedency of supplies; and that this order, so carefully observed by their ancestors, was founded on a jealousy inherent in the constitution, and was never interpreted as any peculiar diffidence of the present sovereign: that scarcely any argument more unfavourable could be pleaded for a supply, than an offer to abolish ship-money; a taxation the most illegal, and the most dangerous that had ever been imposed upon the nation: and that by bargaining for the remission of that duty, the commons would, in a manner, ratify the authority by which it had been levied; or at least give encouragement for advancing new pretensions of a like nature, in hopes of resigning them on like advantageous conditions.

While the house was thus divided, Sir Henry Vane stood up, and asserted, that he had authority to tell them, that the king would accept of nothing less than twelve subsidies, as a compensation for the abolition of ship-money. Upon this the house arose; and the king being told, that if they came together again, they

they would not only endeavour to abolish ship-money and other illegal branches of the revenue, but declare their disapprobation of the intended war against the Scots, hastily determined to dissolve them; and this he did the next morning.

This abrupt dissolution naturally excited the resentment of the people, who saw all their hopes blasted, while none of their grievances had been redressed. As if they had not already sufficient grounds of complaint, the king persevered in those dangerous and unpopular councils, which, from experience, he must know could only serve to inflame their minds. The studies, and even the pockets of the earl of Warwick and lord Broke, were searched before the expiration of privilege, in expectation of finding treasonable papers. Henry Bellasis, knight of the shire for the county of York, and Sir John Hotham, were summoned before the council; and not making satisfactory answers to interrogatives, concerning passages in the late parliament, were committed to the Fleet. All the petitions and complaints, which had been sent to the committee of religion, were demanded from Crew, chairman of that committee; and on his refusing to deliver them, and thus screening from discovery the names of those who complained of innovations in religion, and the proceedings of the high-commission court, he was committed close prisoner to the Tower; and these acts of authority were justly interpreted by the people, as invasions of the privileges of parliament.

Contrary

Contrary to the almost unwearied custom of the ecclesiastical assemblies, which ever broke up with the parliament, the convocation continued to sit, and not only exerted a very dangerous independency, by granting the king a benevolence, without the sanction of parliament, of four shillings in the pound for six years, but made canons, in which all sectaries were rendered subject to the same penalties as those mentioned in the canon against Popish recusants; approved the new ceremonies of placing the communion-table, and bowing towards the east; rendered those subject to excommunication, who should write, import, print, publish, or disperse any book or writing against the discipline and government of the church; and framed an oath, by which the clergy and graduates in the universities were to swear, that they approved the doctrine and discipline of the church of England, and would maintain its government by archbishops, bishops, deans, chapters, &c. All these canons were esteemed illegal, because not ratified by consent of parliament; while the oath was looked upon with abhorrence by those who did not approve of the present doctrine or discipline of the church; and besides, nothing could afford a greater subject for ridicule, than an oath which contained an *et cætera* in the middle of it.

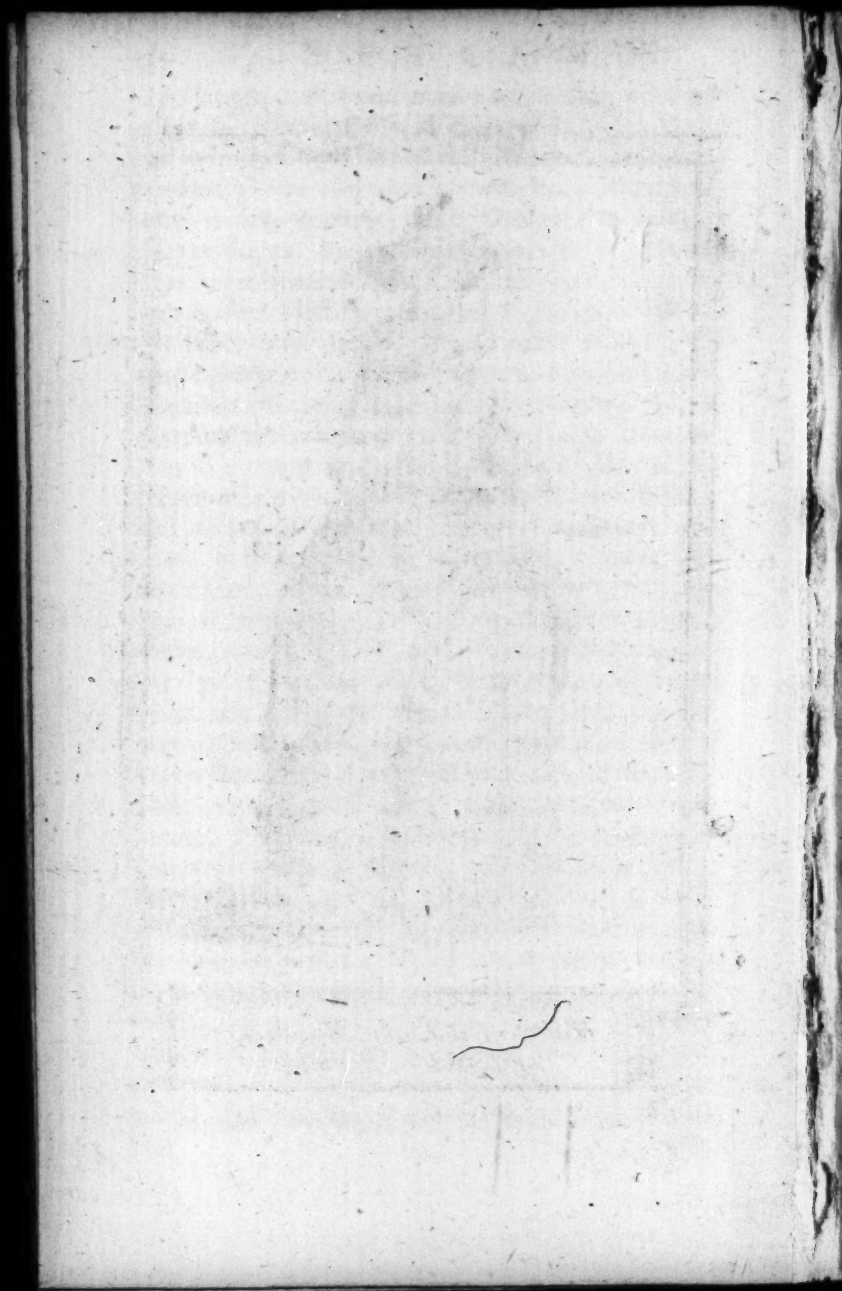
As the convocation was generally as much abhorred by the people, as the parliament was revered, they could scarcely be restrained from insulting and abusing this assembly; on which  
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*Habit of a Lady Mayoress  
of London, in 1640.*





the king gave them guards to protect them. A body of two thousand people entered St. Paul's cathedral, where the high-commission court then sat, crying, "No bishops! no high-commission court!" and pulled down the benches. A great number of apprentices, with others of the lower sort, beset the archbishop's house at Lambeth; and there happening to be a drum among them, one of them was taken and tried for treason, on the statute of the 25th of Edward III. and being condemned, was hanged, drawn, and quartered, and his limbs set on London-bridge.

Ship-money was now every where disputed; and the sheriffs were not only threatened by the council, but the attorney-general was required to send for the sheriffs of the counties of London, Middlesex, Essex, Surrey, York, Berks, Northampton, and Leicester; and was ordered to proceed against them as he should see cause. The ecclesiastical subsidies amounted to a hundred and twenty thousand pounds; and the king borrowed from his ministers and courtiers, three hundred thousand pounds: but these sums not being sufficient to defray the expence of the great preparations which were making against the Scots, the king attempted to force the city of London to lend him two hundred thousand pounds. The rising spirit of liberty, however, repelled this attack, and he was obliged to be satisfied with the dangerous revenge of imprisoning three aldermen, for refusing to collect the names of those who were able to contribute towards raising this sum;

and with prosecuting in the star-chamber, the lord mayor and aldermen, for not restraining citizens who had not paid ship-money. The bullion in the Tower was seized, and forty thousand pounds extorted from the merchants, to redeem the rest. All the pepper was bought of the East-India company upon trust, and sold at a great discount for ready money: coat and conduct-money for the soldiery, were again levied, and a scheme for coining two or three hundred thousand pounds of base money, in which there was to be only a fourth part silver, and the rest copper, was, with difficulty set aside, by a spirited discourse of Sir Thomas Rowe, in which he strongly represented the many fatal consequences with which this step might be attended.

While the king and council were thus employed, the Scots raised a more numerous body of troops than they were able to bring into the field the last year; for which purpose, they exacted a tenth penny throughout that kingdom; borrowed large sums; and the Scotch women, imitating the Roman matrons, gave up their jewels and ornaments, to supply the necessity of their country. The Scotch army, though more numerous, was sooner ready than the king's; and after having taken Edinburgh castle, marched towards the borders of England, under the command of general Lesley.

The army which Charles had raised to oppose them, consisted of twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse. The earl of Northumberland was appointed general; Strafford, who

who was called over from Ireland, lieutenant-general, and lord Conway, general of the horse. The Scots still preserved the most submissive language, and published manifestoes, that they entered England with no other view, but to obtain access to the king's presence, and to lay their humble petitions at his feet. At Newburn upon Tyne, they were opposed by a detachment of five thousand foot, and two hundred horse, under Conway, who seemed resolved to dispute the passage of the river. The Scots first entreated them in a civil manner, not to stop their march; and meeting with a refusal, attacked them with great bravery, killed several, and chased the rest from their ground. Such a panic soon seized the whole English army, that the forces at Newcastle fled to Durham; and not yet thinking themselves safe, deserted that town, and retreated into Yorkshire.

The Scots took possession of Newcastle, with the king's magazines of powder, ammunition, and provision; but preserved exact discipline, paid for every thing they had, and dispatched messengers to the king, who was arrived at York, redoubling their expressions of loyalty, duty, and submission to his person, and deploring the necessity of their being obliged to shed the blood of their English brethren. At the same time, they treated the prisoners they had taken with such civility, that they brought them over to their side; and their reports were afterwards of infinite service to them.

Charles was now in the utmost distress: his army was discouraged and discontented: his

treasury was exhausted, and every expedient for a supply had been tried to the utmost. In order therefore to put a stop to the progress of the Scots, the king agreed to a treaty, and appointed sixteen English noblemen to meet eleven Scotch commissioners at Rippon. This was followed by the arrival of a petition from the city of London for a parliament, and by another to the same purpose, presented by twelve noblemen: but the king was satisfied with summoning a great council of the peers at York; a measure which had formerly been taken on a sudden emergency; but which, at present, could be of little service.

Strafford, who by Northumberland's sickness had obtained the command of the army, persuaded Charles to hazard every thing rather than agree to the petition of the Scots; and advised him to push forward, and bring the affair to a quick decision, alledging that nothing worse could befall him, than what he would be exposed to by his inactivity. To shew how easily this might be done, he ordered an assault to be made on some of the quarters of the Scots, during the treaty at Rippon, and gained an advantage over them. This act of hostility was universally censured; and when it was known that the officer who conducted the attack was a Papist, a violent outcry was raised against the king, for employing those of that profession in the murder of his Protestant subjects.

The parliament met on the third of November, 1640; and such was the spirit of the times, that the house of commons was almost  
full



full at the very opening of the session. The king, in his speech to both houses, recommended with some warmth the chasing the Scots out of the kingdom; said, he was resolved to confide in the love and affection of his English subjects; promised heartily to concur in redressing their just grievances; and recommended to them to provide for the payment of his army, which must otherwise be disbanded, while that of the rebels was kept on foot.

The commons no sooner entered upon business, than large committees were appointed for privileges, elections, religion, grievances, courts of justice, trade, and Irish affairs. Such a multiplicity of complaints now poured in upon them, that these were subdivided into forty lesser committees. Every hour brought fresh proofs of the general discontent of the nation, besides petitions in favour of Leighton, Prynne, Burton, Bastwick, Lilbourn, and other private sufferers; and there was not a county which did not send up a long list of grievances by their several representatives. The national grievances were represented by the eminent speakers with great spirit and eloquence; and an Irish gentleman drew such a lively picture of the tyrannical administration of the kingdom of Ireland, as encreased the prejudice of the house against Strafford the governor, who by his behaviour in every other respect had rendered himself extremely unpopular.

No sooner was Strafford's arrival in London known, than Mr. Pym enumerated, in a long speech, all the grievances under which the na-

tion laboured, and from thence inferred, that a deliberate plan had been formed of entirely subverting the ancient laws and liberties of the kingdom. " Could any thing, he said, encrease our indignation against so criminal a project, it would be to find, that during the reign of the best of princes, the constitution has been endangered, by the worst of men ; and though many of the counsellors will be found to have contributed their endeavours ; yet there is one who challenges the infamous pre-eminence, and who, by his courage and abilities, is entitled to the first place among these betrayers of their country. He is the earl of Strafford, lieutenant of Ireland, and president of the council of York, who in both places, and in all other provinces, where he has been entrusted with authority, has raised ample monuments of tyranny, and will appear, from a survey of his actions, to have been the chief promoter of every arbitrary measure." Sir John Hotham, and others, spoke to the same effect ; and after many hours spent on the same subject, while the doors were previously locked, to prevent all discovery of their purpose, it was suddenly moved, that the earl of Strafford should be immediately impeached of high-treason.

After some debate, the impeachment was voted, and Mr. Pym chosen to carry it up to the lords ; and to shew their unanimity on this subject, most of the house accompanied him. Strafford was then in the house of peers, and it is conjectured,

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**WENTWORTH.**  
**EARL of STRAFFORD.**

ed, that he intended that day to accuse the lord Say, and other members of both houses, who were thought to have held a correspondence with the Scots. He found the lords in a debate, which took them up a considerable time; and while he was waiting for an opportunity to address them, Mr. Pym appeared at the bar, and in the name of all the commons of England, impeached him of high treason, and desired that he might be sequestered from all councils, and put into safe custody: Mr. Pym then retiring, Strafford was committed to the usher of the black-rod, to remain under his care, till the commons should bring in a particular charge against him.

Laud, the declared zealot for tyranny and persecution, could not long escape the strict scrutiny which was now making concerning grievances. After long debate on the new made canons, it was resolved that they did not, bind either the clergy or the laity; that they were contrary to the king's prerogative, to the fundamental laws and statutes of the realm, the rights of parliament, and the liberty and property of the subject. Enquiry was then made how far that prelate was concerned in the great design of subverting the religion and laws of the realm; and many accusations being brought against him, the house of commons voted him guilty of treason; and his impeachment being carried up to the lords, they immediately committed him to the custody of their usher.

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The instruments of this prelate's tyranny did not escape. Matthew Wren, bishop of Ely, and Pierce, bishop of Bath and Wells, were informed against, for many high crimes and misdemeanours, as practising and enforcing superstition, and persecuting those who did not submit to their corruptions. At the desire of the commons, they were ordered by the lords to give bail for ten thousand pounds, to stand the judgment of parliament. Every member of the late convocation was also condemned to pay large fines, and numbers of the ecclesiastical delinquents were severely punished, by imprisonment or otherwise, for being guilty, in their several cures, of persecution and idolatry. A bill passed the lower house, for disabling any clergymen from being privy-counsellors, or having any judicial power in the star-chamber, or in any civil court; and commissioners were sent into all the counties, for the defacing, demolishing, and taking away all images, tables turned altarwise, crucifixes, and superstitious pictures, out of all churches and chapels.

The citizens of London, to the number of fifteen thousand, subscribed a petition against the hierarchy and government of the church of England. This petition was presented to the house by alderman Pennington, and was followed by three others of the same kind; one from the inhabitants of Kent, one from Gloucester, and another subscribed by seven hundred ministers.

None had been more obnoxious, in subverting the laws and constitution of England, than  
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the the lord-keeper Finch. In the king's third parliament, he had left the chair, when speaker; and on his being ordered by the house, refused to put the question. He had been active in all the unpopular and illegal measures; and had publicly declared, that while he was keeper, an order of the council should, with him, be always equivalent to a law of the land. To escape the resentment of the commons, he withdrew to Holland, but was impeached in his absence. Several other of the ministry escaped by flight.

What rendered the power of the commons the more formidable, was the extraordinary prudence with which it was conducted. Not satisfied with the authority they had acquired, by attacking these great ministers, they resolved to carry their censures against the most considerable bodies of the nation; and while they established the maxims of law and liberty, spread the terror of their own authority.

Every arbitrary sentence of the star-chamber and high-commission courts underwent a severe scrutiny; and all who had concurred in such sentences, were voted to be liable to the penalties of law. Every one of the king's ministers, and every member of the council, found himself exposed by this determination.

Though the sheriffs, to whom the writs for ship-money had been directed, had been required, under severe penalties, to assess the sums upon individuals, yet were all the sheriffs, and all others who had been employed in that illegal service, voted to be delinquents.

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The judges, who had given their vote against Hampden, in the trial of ship-money, were accused before the peers, and obliged to find surety for their appearance. Berkeley, a judge of the king's bench, was seized by order of the house, even while sitting on his tribunal; and every one saw with astonishment, the irresistible authority of the parliament.

All the officers and farmers of the customs, who for many years had been employed in levying tonnage and poundage, and the new impositions, were also declared criminal, and were afterwards glad to compound for a pardon.

The sanction of the king, lords, and commons, was declared necessary for the confirmation of ecclesiastical canons.

The commons carried so far their detestation of the revival of monopolies, which had been solemnly abolished by a recent act of parliament, that they expelled all their own members who were found to be guilty of those oppressive measures.

The cruel sentence which had been executed against Burton, Prynne, and Bastwick, was now reversed by parliament. By an order of council, they had been carried to remote prisons. Bastwick to the isle of Scilly, Prynne to Jersey, and Burton to Guernsey, where they were denied the use of books, pen, ink, and paper; and all access to them was refused, even of their wives, children, and nearest friends. The sentence for these additional punishments was immediately reversed by the commons;

commons: the first cruel sentence was also, upon examination, declared illegal; and the judges who passed it, fined, in order to make the sufferers all possible reparation. When these prisoners landed in England, they were received and entertained with the greatest demonstrations of affection, their charges borne, and liberal presents bestowed on them. On their approach to any town, the inhabitants crowded to receive them with shouts and acclamations. As they drew near London, their train encreased; and several miles from the city, they were met by great multitudes, with boughs and flowers in their hands, who conducted them into the city, with every testimony of joy, intermingled with invectives against their cruel persecutors. Leighton, Lilbourn, and every other person, who had been punished under the pretence of their writing seditious libels, now also recovered their liberty, and were decreed damages from their judges.

The Scotch army, on their being settled in the northern counties, were obliged to lay aside their first professions of paying for every thing, which they had no means of doing, after the money they had brought was expended. The country, therefore, agreed to allow them eight hundred and fifty pounds a day for their subsistence. The parliament, in order to relieve the northern counties from so grievous a burthen, agreed to pay both the Scotch and English armies; and as subsidies would be levied too slowly for so urgent an occasion, money was borrowed from the citizens, upon the security

rity of particular members. Two subsidies were at first voted ; and as this supply was intended to indemnify the members, who, by their private credit, had supported that of the public, the money was ordered to be paid, not into the treasury, but to commissioners appointed by parliament: a practice which was afterwards continued by the parliament, with regard to every branch of the revenue, granted to the king. As the invasion of the Scots had evidently been the cause of assembling the parliament, and of their obtaining power to redress the grievances of the nation, the commons openly professed their intention of retaining them till all their purposes were answered. Eighty thousand pounds a month were requisite for the subsistence of the two armies ; and though several subsidies, together with a poll-tax, were from time to time voted, to answer this expence, the commons still took care to be in debt, in order to render the continuance of the session the more necessary.

The Scottish commissioners, the most considerable of whom were the earl of Rothes and lord Loudon, were lodged in the city, and entertained with great respect, by the magistrates and the popular leaders in both houses. St. Antholin's church was assigned for their devotions, in which their chaplains openly practised the Presbyterian form of worship, which, except in foreign languages, had never before been allowed any toleration ; and so violent was the curiosity of the people, that multitudes of all ranks crowded to the church.

People

People even came early in the morning, and kept their places the whole day; while those who could not enter, stood listening at the doors and windows.

The commons now finally determined the dispute, with regard to tonnage and poundage. The house instructed the committee which framed the bill, to take care that the rates upon exportation should be as light as possible, and those upon importation as heavy as trade would bear; which is a proof that the nature of commerce began now to be understood. In the preamble to the bill, in which they granted these duties to the king, they asserted, in the most positive terms, their own right of bestowing them; and to divest the crown of the power to encrease these impositions at pleasure, they gave them only for two months, and afterwards renewed their grant for very short periods.

By two statutes passed during the reign of Edward III.\* it had been enacted, that parliaments should be held once in every year, or oftener, if necessary. This had been the practice in former times; but during the reign of the Stuarts, these assemblies had never been called, but when the revenue was unable to pay the expences of the government. Indeed, as no provision had been made in case of failure, and no precise method pointed out for the execution of this statute, it had been dis-

\* 3 Edward III. c. 10. chap. 10. 4 Edward III. 14. chap. 14.

pened with at pleasure ; but this defect was supplied by the vigilant patriots, who now assumed the reins of government. It was enacted, that the parliament should be assembled every three years : that if the chancellor, who was first bound under severe penalties, did not issue writs by the third of September, in every third year, any twelve or more of the peers, should be empowered to exert this authority : in default of the peers, the sheriffs, mayors, and other proper officers, should summon the voters : that in their default, the voters themselves should meet and proceed to the election of members, in the same manner as if writs had been regularly issued from the crown ; and that the parliament, after it was assembled, should not be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, without their own consent, during the space of fifty days.

By this bill, some of the most valuable prerogatives of the crown were retrenched ; but at the same time, nothing could be more necessary, at this time, than such a statute, for completing a regular plan of law and liberty. Charles finding that nothing less would satisfy his parliament and people, gave his assent with great reluctance. Upon which solemn thanks were presented him by both houses, and great rejoicings were made, not only in London, but throughout the whole nation.

In the beginning of this year, 1641, the states-general sent a splendid embassy to Charles, to propose a league, conducive to the interest of both states ; and at the same time, the  
young

young prince of Orange demanded the princess Mary in marriage. Charles readily consented to proposals so agreeable to his people; and even, upon this occasion, asked the advice of the house of peers. The peers expressed their full approbation; and the marriage was concluded to the general satisfaction of the public. At this time the princess was not more than twelve years of age. Thus began the connections with the house of Orange, which were afterwards attended with the most important consequences, both with respect to the nation and to the family of Stuart.

Strafford had no sooner been confined in the Tower, than a committee was chosen by the lower house, and entrusted with the office of preparing a charge against him. These, with a small committee of lords, were vested with authority to examine all witnesses, to call for every paper, and to use every means of scrutiny, with regard to the earl's behaviour and conduct. Application was also made to the king, to allow this committee to examine privy-counsellors, with regard to opinions delivered at their board; and with this Charles unwarily complied; but by this means, banished thenceforth all mutual confidence from the deliberations of the council; where every man was supposed to have entire freedom, without fear of future punishment or enquiry.

The Irish house of commons also sent over a committee into England, to assist in the prosecution of their unfortunate governor. Strafford's impeachment consisted of twenty-eight



articles, and related to his conduct as governor of Ireland, president of the council of York, and counsellor and commander in England. The articles in regard to Ireland, related to arbitrary acts of jurisdiction; enforcing obedience to arbitrary decrees by military power; deciding causes before the council, which ought to have been decided in the courts of law; issuing proclamations, and punishing their infractions; setting arbitrary impositions upon merchandize; granting exclusive licenses for importing pipe-staves; making monopolies of tobacco, and other commodities; and exercising cruelties on those who disputed these points. As president of the council of York, and counsellor, he was charged with exercising an exorbitant and illegal power over his majesty's subjects in those parts; and with having fined and imprisoned many, to their ruin; with saying publickly, at the assizes held for the county of York, that the king's little finger should be heavier than the loins of the law; with having incensed the king against the Scots; with having advised the rigorous levying of ship-money, and telling the aldermen of London, that no good would be done with them till an example was made of them, and some of them laid up by the heels, and some of them hanged. And as a commander in the English army, he was charged with levying by force, in the late northern expedition, eighteen-pence a day from each of the inhabitants of the county of York, who were possessed of property, with many other charges.



To give the greater solemnity to this important trial, scaffolds were erected in Westminster-hall, where both houses sat, the one as accusers, the other as judges. Besides the chair of state, a close gallery was prepared for the king and queen, who attended during the whole trial, which lasted eighteen days. In Strafford's charge, as delivered by the managers, it appeared, that in all his employments, he had exercised very arbitrary acts of power, and in his whole conduct, since he had been invested with authority, had been highly insolent, particularly in Ireland, where he had exceeded all former governors in acts of tyranny.

On the thirteenth of April Strafford was called to the bar, and made his defence, which he concluded in a very pathetic manner. He had his children with him; and taking advantage of this affecting circumstance, said, "My lords, I have now troubled your lordships a great deal longer than I should have done, were it not for the interest of these pledges, which a saint in heaven has left me. I should be loth."—Here he pointed to them, and his tears stopped his speech.—"What I forfeit for myself, it is nothing: but, I confess, that my indiscretion should forfeit for them, it wounds me very deeply. You will be pleased to pardon my infirmity: something I should have said; but I see I shall not be able, and therefore I shall leave it. And now, my lords, I thank God I have been, by his blessing, sufficiently instructed

“ in the extreme vanity of all temporary en-  
 “ joyments, compared to the importance of  
 “ our eternal duration. And so, my lords,  
 “ even so, with all humility, and with all  
 “ tranquility of mind, I submit, clearly and  
 “ freely, to your judgments: and whether  
 “ that righteous doom shall be to life or death,  
 “ I shall repose myself, full of gratitude and  
 “ confidence, in the arms of the great Author  
 “ of my existence \*.”

Strafford, afterwards, preferred a petition to  
 the lords, that he might be heard again, in  
 point of law, to make a defence against the  
 bill of attainder: but this the lords, out of re-  
 spect to the lower house, thought fit to deny.  
 The king had been flattered, that the com-  
 mons, in their proceedings against Strafford,  
 would meet with a firm opposition from the  
 peers, and was so alarmed at this piece of com-  
 plaisance, that he immediately went to the up-  
 per house; and the commons being called to  
 the bar, made a speech to both houses, to the  
 following purpose: that he was convinced Straf-  
 ford had been guilty of such misdemeanors,  
 that he was neither fit to serve him nor the  
 commonwealth, in any place of trust; no, not  
 so much as to be a high-constable. He had  
 been present at the hearing of his trial, and  
 could not in conscience condemn him of high-  
 treason. He hoped they knew what a tender  
 thing conscience was: he would do great mat-  
 ters to satisfy his people, but that no fear nor

\* Rushworth, -vol. iv. pag. 659.

respect should ever make him violate his conscience.

The commons, at their return to their house, fell into a hot debate, in which it was said, that his majesty had, in his speech, plainly asserted, that an attempt to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and introduce an arbitrary government, was not treason; that if the king might take notice of what bills were passing in either houses of parliament, and declare his opinion before they came before him in a parliamentary course, their councils would be fore-judged, and they prevented from applying remedies to the commonwealth, suitable to the diseases it laboured under. They therefore voted, that this act of the king was the most unparalleled breach of privilege that had ever happened.

The facility with which the parliament had hitherto obtained all their demands, was owing to the king's extreme desire to get rid of so troublesome a set of counsellors. He daily expected that they would disband both armies, and settle an ample revenue on the crown. But finding that the commons, distrusting his sincerity, were determined to detain their Scotch friends, till they had perfected a reformation on a solid constitutional basis, he was filled with impatience, and attempted to free himself from his situation. The two armies still remained in the north of England, and were supplied with money from the parliament. The Scots having made pressing demands, ten thousand pounds were sent them, out of fifty thousand,

thousand, which had been designed for the English army; at which the latter shewed great displeasure. This coming to the king's ears, he endeavoured to make his advantage of it; and in discoursing with his general officers, he mentioned the partiality of the parliament to the Scots, and promised, that if they would be faithful to him, he would pawn his jewels to support them and their soldiers.

The queen entered into the king's views, and formed a scheme for bringing the army up to London, in order to surprize the Tower, and over-awe the parliament. The earl of Newcastle was to be general, Goring, the son of lord Goring, was to be lieutenant-general; and the king and prince of Wales, with a thousand horse, were to join the troops in Nottinghamshire. Piercy, brother to the earl of Northumberland, Willmot, Ashburnham, Berkeley, Pollard and O'Neale, had, by the king's directions, drawn up a petition, which he promised to get subscribed by the officers of the army, against lessening the power of the bishops; against disbanding the Irish army, till that of the Scots was disbanded; and for settling the king's revenue; and promising their assistance till this was accomplished. To this petition the king signed C. R. as a token of his approbation. A general plan of action was now to be formed under an oath of secrecy; but the army rejecting some proposals, and Goring having quarrelled with the party, discovered the whole design to the leaders of the parliament.

This

This gave a great alarm, and a protestation was published, in which the subscribers declared they would unite in defence of their religion and liberties; and this was signed by almost every member of the house of commons, and by all the lords, except Southampton and Roberts. The commons immediately sent clothes and provisions to the army, with promises of speedily paying their arrears: persons were sent down to inspect the garrisons of Portsmouth, where, it was supposed, that a French army was to land. Orders were given to the forces in Wiltshire and Hampshire, to draw towards that town; and those in Kent and Suffex, towards Dover: all the sea-ports were shut up; and the commons declared, that whosoever should give counsel or assistance, to bring any foreign force into the kingdom, unless by the command of his majesty, with the consent of both houses of parliament, should be adjudged public enemies to the king and kingdom. Proclamations were issued for apprehending the conspirators. Goring gave his evidence before the house; and Piercy wrote a letter to the earl of Northumberland, confessing all the particulars. One captain Billingsly confessed, that he had received orders to get a hundred men, to serve under him in the Tower. Sir William Balfour, lieutenant of that fortress, deposed, that he had orders to receive captain Billingsly, with an hundred men; that the earl of Strafford, at the same time, informed him of his intended escape; and offered, in case of his

his assistance, to pay him immediately twenty-two thousand pounds.

The parliament now presented an address for disarming the Papists, removing them from court, and disbanding the Irish army. Charles answered, that there should be no just cause of scandal as to the Papists; but that he met with difficulties in disbanding the Irish army, and that it would become the parliament to begin with disbanding the two armies in England. This answer offended both houses. Tumults daily encreased, and the affrighted citizens were every day alarmed with accounts of fresh conspiracies; while, from letters which were stopped going to and coming from France, it appeared that the earl of Strafford was expected there. This induced twenty thousand of the inhabitants of London, of good rank and quality, to present a petition to both houses, to determine the fate of Strafford; in which they also complained of grievances unredressed, and of the incendiaries of the kingdom, and other notorious offenders, being left unpunished. The names of the fifty-nine commoners, who voted against the bill of attainder, were palmed up under the title of Straffordians, and betrayers of their country. The Spanish ambassador's house was insulted by the mob. The queen-mother, who still remained in England, was so terrified with the imprecations of the people, that she desired to have a guard; but no soldiers could be found who would undertake the employment. This being represented to the house, they agreed that she should be protected



tested by a guard ; but at the same time, desired that she might be moved to leave the kingdom, in order to quiet the jealousies of the people, on account of the priests and Papists who flocked to her house ; and the bill of attainder not having yet passed the lords, the people crowded round that house with loud cries for justice. At length, when the dependants of the crown were, by the rage of the people, frightened from their attendance, the bill of attainder passed, with nineteen dissenting votes, though there were only forty-five members present.

The terror and resentment of the public, on the discovery of the late plot, was attended with another advantage gained by the popular party. All the money for the payment of the armies had been raised in the city of London ; but now the citizens began to start difficulties, with regard to the demand of a farther loan. They observed, that they should make no scruple of trusting the parliament, were they certain that the parliament would continue till their repayment : but in the present precarious situation of affairs, they could find no security for their money. In order to obviate this objection, a bill was suddenly brought into the house, and passed with great unanimity and rapidity, that the parliament should not be dissolved, prorogued, or adjourned, without their own consent. It also passed the house of lords, with very little opposition.

During these transactions, the king was in a situation worthy of pity : his imprudence had raised



raised a ferment through the whole nation, which threatened some great and imminent convulsion. On whatsoever side he cast his eyes, he saw no security but in submitting to the will of the people. The judges, on being consulted, declared the bill was legal, and that the earl of Strafford was guilty of treason. The privy-council told him, that there was no other way to preserve himself and posterity, than by passing the bill of attainder against him; and the queen was an importunate solicitor for his death. Strafford hearing of Charles's irresolution and anxiety, took a very extraordinary step, and wrote a letter to the king, in which he intreated him to put an end to his unfortunate, however innocent life; and quiet the tumultuous people, by granting them that request, for which they were so importunate. "In this, said he, my consent will more acquit you to God, than all the world can do besides. To a willing man, there is no injury. And as, by God's grace, I forgive all the world, with a calmness and meekness of infinite contentment to my dislodging soul; so, Sir, to you I can resign the life of this world with all imaginable cheerfulness." Yet, on his being afterwards told, by secretary Carleton, that the king had granted a commission to four lords to pass the bill of attainder, it was with difficulty that he could believe the fatal tidings; but being assured that it was certain, he rose from his chair with marks of astonishment and horror; and lifting up his eyes to heaven, laid his hand on his breast,

breast, and exclaimed, " put not your trust in  
" princes \*, nor in the sons of men : for in  
" them there is no salvation."

The commissioners whom Charles had appointed to pass the bill of attainder, were at the same time empowered to give the royal assent to that for the continuance of the parliament. Charles, tortured with the pangs of shame and remorse, for yielding to Strafford's doom, did not perceive that this other bill was of still more fatal consequence to his authority, and rendered the uncontrollable power of the commons perpetual. Strafford was allowed only three days ; and in that interval, the king made a new effort in his behalf, and sent a letter to the lords, by the prince of Wales, to desire that he might fulfil the natural course of life, in a close and perpetual imprisonment ; and begged at least some delay : but the lords deputed twelve of their house to satisfy the king, that even a delay of Strafford's execution would endanger his own safety, and that of his family.

The twelfth of May, 1641, was appointed for Strafford's execution. In passing from his apartment to Tower-hill, where the scaffold was erected, he stopped under Laud's windows, and entreated the assistance of his prayers, in the approaching awful moments. A very ten-

\* During Strafford's confinement, the king had sent him a letter, in which he assured him, upon the word of a king, that he should not suffer in life, honour or fortune. *Strafford's Letters*, vol. II. pag. 416.

der scene passed between these fellow-sufferers, who had been associates in power: the rigid primate, dissolved in tears, pronounced, with a broken voice, a blessing on his departing friend, and then sunk down in the arms of his attendants. Strafford, with a determined countenance, moved on to meet his fate: archbishop Usher, primate of Ireland, attended him on the scaffold. On seeing his brother, Sir George Wentworth weeping, he bad him not lament, but rejoice in his innocence and approaching happiness. He then kneeled down, and in a solemn manner, asserted, that as far as he could understand, he was not guilty of the crime laid to his charge; nor ever had intentions to prejudice the king, the state, the laws, or the religion of the kingdom. In a speech to the people, he asserted, that he always thought parliaments the best means, under God, of rendering the king and his people happy. Having bid the last adieu to his brother, and the friends who attended him, and sent a blessing to his absent relations, he added, "I have now done! One stroke will make  
 " my wife a widow, my dear children father-  
 " less, deprive my poor servants of their in-  
 " dulent master, and separate me from my  
 " affectionate brother and all my friends! But  
 " let God be to you and them, all in all!"  
 On his going to disrobe himself, and prepare for the block, he said, "I thank God, I am  
 " no way afraid of death, nor am daunted  
 " with any terrors; but do as chearfully lay  
 " down my head at this time, as ever I did  
 " when.

“ when going to repose.” The executioner performed his fatal office with one blow.

Thus, by the voice of his country, died Thomas viscount Wentworth, earl of Strafford, in the forty-ninth year of his age. His fate has been loudly exclaimed against by many writers, who alledge that the sentence by which he fell, was not according to statute law, and therefore iniquitous. This Mrs. Macaulay endeavours to prove to be contrary to fact; and then adds, “ Yet allowing this assertion to be true, in the best regulated governments, circumstances may arise of so peculiar and urgent a nature, as to render it necessary for the legislative power to exceed the strict letter of the law. England could not, at this time, be called a settled government, since the king, by his illegal administration, and violent attempts to subvert the constitution, had introduced a state of confusion, which rendered acts of power necessary expedients to reinstate the people in their long lost privileges, and to give the violated laws their due authority.”

The ruling passion of this parliament, was zeal for religious and civil liberty. They now, therefore, resolved to abolish every arbitrary court of justice; particularly the court of high-commission, assigned for the defence of the ecclesiastical establishment, and the star-chamber; both of which were entirely arbitrary, and exerted high discretionary powers. Two bills, therefore, unanimously passed both houses, to abolish them; and by the same bills

the jurisdiction of the council was regulated, and its authority abridged. These bills were presented to the king at the same time with a bill for a poll-tax: he passed the latter, without taking notice of the former; on which the commons adjourned with some warmth: but on their meeting again to debate on this point, they received a message from the king, that he was ready to comply with their demands.

By these acts, the marshal's court, which took cognizance of offensive words, and was not sufficiently limited by law, was also, for that reason, abolished, as were likewise the council of the North, and the council of Wales. The authority of the clerk of the market, who had a general inspection over the weights and measures throughout the kingdom, and by whose power the people had suffered many hardships, vexations, and extortions, was transferred to the mayor, sheriffs, and ordinary magistrates: the limits of the forests were restrained to their ancient bounds, and the king's power of issuing proclamations to extort money from the subject was entirely cut off. Thus, former abuses were not only remedied, and grievances redressed, but provision was made, by law, against the return of like complaints for the future.

The king had informed the Scots, that he would pay them a visit this summer, in order to settle their government; and though the English parliament endeavoured to persuade him to lay aside that journey, they could not even prevail with him to delay it. As in his progress

progress he must necessarily pass through the armies of both nations, the commons appear to have entertained a jealousy on that account, and immediately disbanded both armies. They also appointed a small committee of both houses to attend him into Scotland, in order to see that the articles of pacification were executed.

The king set out for Scotland on the eighth of August, 1641; and after his arrival in that kingdom, several laws were passed to secure the liberty of the people. The bench of bishops being now abolished, the parliament wisely laid hold of that opportunity to set aside the lords of articles.

These were an ancient institution of the Scottish parliament, and were constituted after the following manner: the temporal lords chose eight bishops: the bishops elected eight temporal lords: the sixteen nominated eight commissioners of counties, and eight burghesses; and without the previous consent of the thirty-two, who were denominated lords of articles, no motion could be made in parliament. The bishops being entirely devoted to the court, all the lords of articles consequently depended on the king's nomination; and thus the sovereign, besides one negative, after the bills had passed through the parliament, indirectly possessed another, before their introduction. In the parliament of Scotland, the peers and commons formed only one house; and as both James and Charles had given English gentlemen Scotch titles, they had reason to fear, that the determinations in parliament would, in

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time,



time, depend upon the prince, by means of the votes of those foreigners, who had no interest or property in the nation. A law was therefore prudently made, that no man should be created a Scotch peer, who did not possess ten thousand marks \* of annual rent in that kingdom. A law for triennial parliaments was likewise passed, in which it was ordained, that the last act of every parliament, should be to appoint the time and place for holding the parliament next ensuing. The king was deprived of the power of issuing proclamations, that enjoined obedience under the penalty of treason. It was likewise enacted, that no member of the privy-council, no officer of state, and none of the judges, should, during the king's absence, be appointed, but by the advice and approbation of parliament. Charles even agreed to deprive four judges of their seats, and to supply their places by others more agreeable to the ruling party ; and all the ministers of state, counsellors and judges, were, by law, to hold their places, not during the king's pleasure, but during life, or their good behaviour.

While the king was in Scotland, he conformed entirely to the established church, and attended the public worship of that kingdom. He even bestowed pensions and preferments on several popular preachers, and practised every art to gain his greatest enemies : the earl of Argyle was created a marquis, lord Loudon,

\* About five hundred pounds.



an earl, and Leslie obtained the title of earl of Leven. By this means, some of his friends were displeased at their being over-looked.

While the king was thus employed in pacifying the commotions in Scotland, he received intelligence that a dangerous rebellion had broken out in Ireland, with circumstances of the utmost horror. To secure the dominion of Ireland to the British crown, those lands which had been forfeited by rebellion, and others fraudently and forcibly obtained from the inhabitants, had been conferred on British planters, who, allured by gain, had gone over in large colonies, to settle in that country. The old Irish held their property by a precarious tenure, called Tanistry. Individuals had no hereditary right: a whole sept or clan, had a title to a whole territory; these used to chuse the chieftain, who assumed the title of king or lord; and being thus elected, had the seigniorship of all the lands within the territory, with a power to make an arbitrary distribution to his vassals, as often as he pleased. The chieftain himself held the seigniorship only for life; but as the lord was always chosen out of the principal branches of the sept, the immediate descendants of the old chieftains fancied they had a right to those seigniorships; and imagined, if they could throw off their dependance on the state of England, things would be adjusted to their satisfaction. As, from the uncertainty of the estates of the old Irish, they neglected to build or improve their lands, and were, in a manner, disunited from the government, by the immediate and absolute

absolute dependance on their chiefs, it was the particular care of the lieutenants and governors of the country, to obtain surrenders; regrant them on English tenures; and introduce a change more suitable to the English government; and to introduce into the kingdom, improvements in tillage, buildings, and manufactures. However, those who aspired to seigniories, kept up a spirit of discontent among the Irish; and the priests, though, during the reigns of James and Charles, they had been indulged with a connivance, amounting to a toleration; yet, being deprived of their ecclesiastical revenues, they naturally communicated their displeasure, and prevented any cordial reconciliation between the old and new inhabitants.

The Irish parliament, which consisted of both Protestants and Papists, had followed the example of the English and Scots; and having freed themselves from oppression, now enjoyed a state of liberty, with the additional blessings of plenty, and an apparent peace and security. Trade and manufactures flourished. Nature admitting the improvements of art, the soil was adorned with a new face of beauty; and the enjoyment of these benefits was heightened by the conscious pleasure, that these were rendered permanent by the laws. The Protestants and Papists, who were linked together by the tie of interest, were equal partakers of these advantages; and had been for a considerable time united by social converse, alliances, consanguinity, and intermarriages; and such  
was

was the seeming harmony which then prevailed, that the Protestants were not offended at the Papists practising at the bar as lawyers; acting as sheriffs, and other magistrates, without taking the oath of supremacy; and at the priests being as open in the exercise of their religion, as the Protestant clergy: nor did the English parliament shew any dislike to their enjoying these immunities.

This, however, was but a short-lived calm, a fatal state of fond security. Roger More, a man of a narrow fortune, though descended from an ancient Irish family, first formed the project of expelling the English, and asserting the independency of his native country. He secretly visited the chieftains, roused up every latent principle of discontent; and engaged all the heads of the native Irish in a conspiracy. The English of the Pale, or the old English planters, being all Catholics, it was hoped, would afterwards join the party, which restored their religion to its ancient splendor and authority. They were assured by More, that the Irish officers in the Spanish service, had promised their assistance; that the pope would supply them with money; that cardinal Richelieu had promised them a powerful aid; and that the Spanish ambassador had declared, that they should not fail of receiving succours from Spain.

The king had, indeed, received information from his ambassador, that something was in agitation among the Irish in foreign parts; but though he gave warning to the administration in

in Ireland, no regard was paid to this intelligence. The earl of Leicester, whom the king had appointed lieutenant, remained in London. Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlace, the two justices, were men of small abilities; and being tranquil, from their ignorance and inexperience, indulged themselves in the most profound security, while they were on the brink of destruction. But they were awakened from their lethargy the very day before that appointed for their ruin.

The castle of Dublin contained arms for ten thousand men, thirty-five pieces of cannon, and a proportionable quantity of ammunition; yet this important place was only guarded by fifty men. Maguire and More were already in the city, with a numerous band of their retainers: others were expected that night; and they were the next morning to surprize the castle, which they esteemed the easiest of all enterprizes. But in the evening O'Conolly, an Irish Protestant, discovered the conspiracy to Parsons. The justices and council immediately fled for safety into the castle, and reinforced the guards. The alarm was conveyed to the city, and all the Protestants prepared for their defence. More escaped, but Maguire and Mac Mahone, one of the conspirators, were taken; from them was extorted the discovery of a general insurrection and massacre. This redoubled the apprehensions which had already spread throughout the city. But though Dublin was saved, the confession came too late to prevent the execution in the provinces.

Sir

Sir Phelim O'Neale, and his confederates, had already taken arms in Ulster. The Irish every where intermingled with the English, prompted by their priests and leaders, began hostilities against those whom they secretly hated, on account of their religion, and envied for their riches and prosperity. The houses, goods, and cattle of the unsuspecting English, were first seized. Those who heard of the commotions in their neighbourhood, instead of deserting their habitations, and assembling for their mutual defence, staid at home, in hopes of protecting their property; and thus separately fell an easy prey into the hands of their enemies. After they had fully exerted their rapacity, they gave way to the most barbarous and inhuman cruelties; and began an universal massacre of the English, now defenceless, and passively resigned to their inhuman foes. No age, no condition, neither sex was spared. The wife lamenting for her murdered husband, and embracing her helpless children, was pierced with them, and perished by the same stroke. The young, the old, the robust, the infirm, suffered a like fate, and were involved in one common ruin. In vain did those who fled escape the first assault: destruction was every where let loose, and met the hunted victims. In vain did the unhappy supplicants appeal to the sacred ties of humanity: in vain was recourse had to relations, to companions, to friends: all the tender connections were dissolved, and death was inflicted by the very persons from whom protection was expected  
and

and implored. Without provocation, without opposition, the astonished English were massacred by their nearest neighbours, with whom they had long upheld a continued intercourse of kindness and good offices.

Yet death was the slightest punishment inflicted by these inhuman savages: all the tortures which wanton cruelty could devise, all the lingering pains of excruciating anguish, could not satiate revenge excited without injury, and cruelty derived from no cause. To enter into particulars, would shock the most obdurate heart. Nature, however depraved, religion, however perverted, could not lead to such a pitch of diabolical cruelty, had not the pity, inherent in the human breast, been destroyed by the contagion of example.

Women, whose feeble minds received a yet stronger impression of religious frenzy, were more furious than the men, and children, excited by the examples and exhortations of their parents, stained their innocent age with the murder of the defenceless children of the English. The cruelty of the Irish was not even restrained by their avarice: for such was their frenzy, that the very cattle which they had seized, and made their own, they wantonly slaughtered, or when covered with wounds, turned loose into the woods and desarts, because they had belonged to the English. The commodious habitations of the planters, as if upbraiding their sloth and ignorance, were laid level with the ground, or consumed with fire; and where the miserable owners shut themselves  
up



up in their houses, and prepared for their defence, their perishing with their wives and children, afforded a double triumph to their insulting foes.

When a number assembled together, and assuming courage from despair, resolved to defend themselves to the last, they disarmed them by promises of safety, confirmed by the most solemn oaths : but no sooner had they surrendered, than these assassins, with a perfidy equal to their cruelty, made them share the fate of their unhappy countrymen. Others, still more ingenious in their barbarity, tempted their prisoners, by the love of life, to embroil their hands in the blood of their friends, brothers, parents, and having thus rendered them accomplices in guilt, gave them the death they sought to shun, by rendering themselves unworthy of life.

Mean while, the sacred name of religion resounded on every side ; not to stop the effusion of blood, but to steel their hearts against the emotions of pity. The English, as heretics, abhorred of God, were marked out for slaughter, the priests representing it as the most meritorious of all actions, to rid the world of those declared enemies of the Catholic faith ; and while death put an end to the sufferings of each victim, the bigotted assassins, with joy and exultation, told them, that these agonies were only the beginning of eternal torments.

By such horrid barbarities, Sir Phelim O'Neale, and the Irish in Ulster, distinguished their rebellion. The humanity of More was



shocked at hearing of such infernal cruelties. He flew to O'Neale's camp; but found that his authority, which was sufficient to excite the Irish to rebel, was too weak to restrain their inhumanity; and soon after abandoning a cause polluted with such crimes, he retired into Flanders. O'Neale, recommended by the greatness of his family, though destitute both of capacity and courage, acquired the entire ascendant over the northern rebels; and the English colonies were entirely destroyed in the open country. The Scots settlements met at first with a more favourable treatment. In order to engage them to embrace a neutrality, the Irish, claiming a friendship and consanguinity with the Scots, and forbearing to massacre them, many found an opportunity to fly the country; while others retired to places of security, and prepared for their defence.

From Ulster, the rage of rebellion instantly spread over the other three provinces of Ireland. In all places death and slaughter were not uncommon; though the Irish here pretended to act with humanity and moderation: but cruel was their humanity! Not satisfied with laying waste the cultivated fields of the English, with despoiling them of their manors, with expelling them from their houses, they stripped them of their very cloaths, and turned them out naked and defenceless, to all the severities of the season. The roads were covered with crowds of naked English, hastening towards Dublin, and the other places which still remained in the hands of their countrymen. The feeble

feeble women and children soon sunk under the rigours of hunger, cold and fatigue. The husband bidding a last adieu to his expiring family, envied them the fate he expected soon to share. The son, after having long supported his aged parent, obeyed, with reluctance, his last commands, and abandoning him in his utmost distress, reserved himself, in hopes of revenging that death, which all his endeavours could not prevent. The astonishing greatness of the calamity, deprived the sufferers of reaping any consolation from their having companions in affliction. They hurried on, weeping in silence, through the hostile territories, finding every heart that was not hardened by barbarity, guarded by the more implacable furies of mistaken religion\*.

The saving of Dublin having preserved a place of refuge to the English, the gates were open to these wretched supplicants; but many of those who reached that city died of the diseases they had contracted, notwithstanding great care and application were used to recover them; others of keen sensations, reflecting on the horror of their fate, reduced from a state of plenty to all the miseries of poverty, with the additional loss of parents, husbands, wives and children, sunk under their calamities, and abandoning themselves to despair, refused all resource but death. By the most moderate, and probably the most just computation, those who

\* Rushworth, vol. v. pag. 399, 400, 415. Temple, pag. 17—40. Hume.

perished by all these calamities amounted to about 40,000 persons.

As there were not, at this time, above three thousand troops in the whole kingdom, some of the most vigorous of the above fugitives, amounting in all to four thousand, were immediately enlisted into three regiments, and the rest were distributed into the houses. At the same time, those bodies of the army which were not surrounded by the rebels, were summoned to defend the town, and the castle was soon supplied with provisions to maintain the army for many months. Commissions were sent by the justices for raising the Scots in the northern parts. Sir Charles Coote, a zealous Protestant, was made governor of Dublin, and the care of the castle committed to Sir Francis Willoughby, an old experienced soldier. Six hundred men were sent to the relief of Drogheda, a place of importance, then besieged by the Irish: but the design being betrayed by the English of the Pale, who wished well to the rebellion, though they had not yet declared themselves, they were suddenly attacked by the enemy, and defeated. Their arms falling into the hands of the Irish, supplied them with what they most wanted. After this the justices thought of nothing more than providing for their own security, and that of the capital. The earl of Ormond, their general, remonstrated against such timid councils, but was obliged to submit to authority.

The English of the Pale at first pretended to blame the insurrection, and to detest the barbarity

barity with which it was accompanied. By their protestations, they engaged the justices to supply them with arms, which they promised to employ in the defence of the government; but soon after chose lord Gormanstone their leader, and joining the old Irish, rivalled them in every act of cruelty towards the English Protestants. Besides many smaller bodies dispersed over the kingdom, the principal army of the rebels, amounting to twenty thousand men, threatened to lay siege to Dublin.

When Charles was informed of the rebellion, he immediately communicated the news to the Scots, who dispatched a small body of men to support their own colony in Ulster; and appointed a committee to treat with the English parliament, on the terms upon which they should farther engage in the Irish war. Unfortunately for the king, the zeal he shewed in this business, was entirely prevented from having its intended effect, by the declaration of the rebels, who called themselves the queen's army; and not only gave out, that they had their party both in England and Scotland; that their reason for taking arms, was to vindicate the royal prerogative, invaded by a puritannical parliament; but that they had authority from the king and queen, and even shewed a commission under the great seal of Scotland\*, in

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which

\* Some have asserted, that O'Neale finding a royal patent in lord Caufield's house, after his having murdered that nobleman, tore off the seal, and affixed

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which they were directed to seize on the forts and strong places in Ireland, and on the persons, goods, and estates of the English Protestants, to the king's use, lest, as the commission expressed, the Protestant party should carry things as violently against him in that kingdom, as they did in England.

It is easily to be imagined, that a rebellion, attended with such dreadful circumstances, declared to have been undertaken by the king's authority, with the concurrence of the whole body of the Papists, operated with great power on the Protestants, rousing all the latent terror and aversion, which the past conduct of this sect had impressed on their minds. It was natural for the people to look on the power and authority of the parliament, as their only safeguard, from the terror of Popish plots and conspiracies; it was natural for them to believe, that a rebellion so grateful as this was supposed to be, to the prevailing faction at court, would not be suppressed by a war conducted by that faction; and that the parliament was the only power to whom it could be committed with safety to the cause of religion and liberty. Such being the affections, and such the opinion of the people, on the king's

affixed it to a commission which he had forged for himself. Others have contended, that the king was actually concerned in this rebellion, and that he permitted the broad-seal to be affixed to the above commission. But the arguments brought to prove this, do not appear to be conclusive.

saying,

saying, that he committed the care of Ireland to the English parliament, that assembly, chusing to interpret it in an unlimited sense, assumed the entire management of the war, and at once disarmed the crown of the executive power, which, on this occasion, filled the people with terror.

Fresh intelligence arriving from Ireland, of the amazing progress of the rebellion, with the cruelties with which it was accompanied, the house of commons came to the following resolutions: that two hundred thousand pounds be immediately raised for the present occasions of Ireland: that six thousand horse and two thousand foot be sent thither: that a convenient number of ships be supplied for guarding its coasts: that magazines of provisions should be provided at Chester, to be sent over to Dublin as occasion should require: that arms, &c. should be sent thither, and that a bill should be passed for pressing men for the Irish service.

The king having put an end to the parliament of Scotland, returned to London, which he entered on the twenty-fifth of November 1641, and was received and entertained with great splendor and expence, by Sir Richard Gurney, the lord mayor, a zealous royalist. Charles was so elevated by these demonstrations of affection, which he thought to be general, that, resuming his former conduct, he dismissed the guard which the parliament had appointed for their security: Sir William Balfour, who had been faithful to the trust reposed



posed in him by parliament, was deprived of his office of lieutenant of the Tower: the seals were taken from Sir Henry Vane, and a proclamation was issued for obedience to the laws, and establishing those religious ceremonies which the commons had, by ordinance, forbidden. Besides, the house of lords had lately been very refractory, and in several instances, obstructed the measures of the commons.

These circumstances irritated the commons, who immediately drew up a remonstrance on the state of the kingdom, and the grievances which it had suffered from the king's ill government, and designs of subverting the fundamental laws and principles of the constitution, which had taken place from the beginning of his reign: complaining of the bad counsels which the king still followed, and that these had been productive of the Irish rebellion: that England would have been the prologue to this tragedy, had not former designs been discovered and prevented; and that the malignant party, prevalent in the government, which had been at first suppressed by the vigour and authority of this parliament, was now reviving to the distraction of public affairs, and to the obstruction of those good designs which the commons had in view, for the advantage of the commonwealth. They justified themselves from the aspersions thrown upon their proceedings; shewed that there were no hopes of establishing things on a right footing, while the bishops and recusant lords so far prevailed in the upper house;

house ; and concluded their remonstrance with a detail of the courses they thought necessary to be pursued for perfecting the work of reformation, and removing every impediment to the peace and happiness of the nation.

In this remonstrance, they owned that the king ought to be entrusted with the ecclesiastical law, as well as with the temporal ; but then he was to regulate the discipline of the church of England by such rules as were established by parliament ; and to effect this establishment, they professed their desire of the assistance of a general synod of the most pious and learned divines, both of this island, and of foreign parts. The court party were, at this time, so strong, even in the lower house, that it was not without great difficulty that this remonstrance passed. The popular leaders considered it as the touch-stone of the strength of each party, and spared neither arguments, entreaty, nor artful management, to obtain success ; and after the debate had lasted from nine in the morning till twelve at night, the question was only carried by a majority of a hundred and fifty-nine against a hundred and forty-eight.

The remonstrance of the commons was presented to the king with a petition, which openly insinuated his concurrence in the Irish rebellion ; complained of the variety of mischiefs occasioned by those bad counsels ; and demanded, as a security from farther evils, that the bishops, who had long acted as corrupt instruments of despotism and popery, should be deprived

deprived of their votes in parliament; the immoderate power they had usurped over the clergy, abridged; and that every office of command, should be entrusted to persons in whom the parliament could confide. The king, in his answer, told them, that he did not know what they meant by a malignant party prevalent in the government: that he had ever concurred with all the just desires of his people, to preserve the peace and safety of the kingdom from the designs of the Popish party: that the bishops right of voting in parliament is grounded on the fundamental laws of the kingdom; and that he was contented to call a national synod, to examine such ceremonies as gave offence: but as to corruption in religion, which they had objected, he was persuaded, that there could not be found on earth, a church that professed the true religion with more purity of doctrine, than the church of England. With respect to his choice of counsellors, he asserted it to be his undoubted prerogative to call those to his secret counsels, to public employments, and his particular services, whom he should think fit. The answer to the remonstrance was also much to the same purpose as this answer to the petition.

While these disputes subsisted between the king and the house of commons, the affairs of Ireland grew daily more desperate. The troops which the Scots had offered to send against the rebels, were not accepted by the English house of commons; their committee in Scotland having informed them, that if they agreed to it, the

the king would command them in person, which they considered as a dangerous circumstance : but this apprehension being removed by the king's return, the commons voted, that ten thousand Scots should be sent into Ireland, on condition of their condescending to be commanded by the government of England, settled in that kingdom ; and that ten thousand foot and two thousand horse should be raised in England for the same service. But the lords refused to agree to the bill for the parliaments pressing men, by their own authority, for the land and sea service. The commons in vain protested, that the loss of Ireland must be imputed to the lords ; but they beginning to be extremely jealous of the power of the commons, continued inflexible. At length the commons finding that no arguments could prevail, ordered their committee on Irish affairs, to meet no more. This occasioned a fatal pause in the military preparations. At length the king came to the house, and taking notice of the bill then depending, offered to pass it with a *salvo jure* for the king and people. This unconstitutional measure was represented by the popular lords, as a manifest violation of their rights ; and the upper house voted, that their privileges were broken by the king's taking notice of the bill while in agitation, and proposing a provisional clause, before it was presented to him. The same votes passed the commons, and both houses united in vindicating their privileges ; and at the same time in petitioning the king, that he  
would

would declare the authors of the evil counsel, that they might receive condign punishment. The king excused himself from having committed any designed breach of privilege, but utterly refused to name any person who had given him any counsel on the subject. Thus every circumstance was suffered by both houses to retard the most important of all affairs, the sending relief to the Protestants in Ireland.

Notwithstanding the harmony which now appeared to subsist between the two houses, the pressing act had not yet passed the upper house. The public were continually alarmed with the fears of Popish plots and conspiracies; and fresh addresses were made to the king for putting the laws against Catholics in execution. In the midst of the just indignation, which was raised against that sect in Ireland, the king solicited the consent of parliament in reprieving seven priests, who had been convicted and condemned by due course of law. Both houses being exasperated by a letter they had just received from Ireland, containing a particular account of the cruelties which had been committed in that kingdom, and were still carrying on, by the authority and influence of the priests, joined in a petition to the king, that he would suffer the criminals to be executed. With this request the king did not think fit to comply; but offered to banish them, if the parliament would give their consent.

At this critical juncture, every thing that could excite passion, and fix attention, actually subsisted. The fears of the people were excited,

cited, and their expectations raised: the mechanic neglected his art, the apprentice his employment; the shops were left empty; even the women, laying aside their domestic cares, engaged with the men in political intrigues; and the whole community were seized with the rage of reformation. Petitions were presented to the house of commons by the aldermen and citizens of London, against the Popish lords, and the bishops, voting in the house of peers. Mobs were raised on different sides, and every thing appeared in confusion. The lords, alarmed at the pretensions of the commons, kept firm to their resolution of defending the bishops, in their privilege of voting in parliament; till an unexpected accident made them no longer withstand the repeated endeavours of the commons.

Williams, who, after the imprisonment of Laud, had ingratiated himself with the king, and was made archbishop of York, in his way to the house of lords, fell in with a body of apprentices, who had just delivered in a petition for the laws to be put in execution against priests and jesuits, and for the removal of prelates and popish lords, from the house of peers. Observing a youth louder than the rest, in his clamours against bishops, he imprudently seized him: this produced a contest; the youth was rescued by his companions, and the archbishop's robes torn in the scuffle. Williams, transported with passion, summoned all the prelates who were in town, and they, by his desire, joined in a protestation, addressed to the



king and the house of peers, setting forth, that though the bishops had an undoubted right to sit and vote in parliament, yet in going thither, they had been menaced, and assaulted by the multitude, to the danger of their lives; and as they could no longer with safety attend their duty in the house, they protested against all laws, votes, and resolutions, as null and void, which should pass during their forced absence. This paper was directed to the king, with an humble desire, that he would send it to the lords, and command it to be entered in the journals of the house. The archbishop hurried to Whitehall for the royal approbation. Charles, ever precipitate in his determinations, and sanguine in his hopes of every plausible expedient proposed to him, eagerly entered into the politics of the bishops; and the paper was immediately delivered into the hands of the lord-keeper Littleton, with orders to present it to the house as soon as it met. He accordingly read it openly in the house of lords, making some comments on it, to the disadvantage of the protesting party. At this time, the assembly of peers was not only without the company of the bishops, but the Popish lords were likewise frightened away by the rage of the people. This protestation, therefore, to the confusion and disappointment of the king and the prelates, had a quite contrary effect from what they expected. The popular lords cried out, in a transport of joy, that the hand of God now appeared in bringing that to pass, which they could never otherwise have effected; and

and the house unanimously agreed to desire an immediate conference with the commons. The protestation was read, and delivered to them by the keeper, with his opinion, that it retrenched upon the fundamental privileges and being of parliaments. Hence the commons resolved that the twelve bishops, who had signed the paper, should be accused of high treason, and put in safe custody. Having sent up their protest, the lords complied; the parties were brought to the bar as delinquents, and committed to the Tower; not an individual in either house, venturing to speak one word in their vindication.

A few days after Charles committed a more fatal act of indiscretion. On the third of January, 1642, Herbert, the attorney-general, appeared in the house of peers, and, in his majesty's name, entered an accusation of high treason against lord Kimbolton, a member of that house, and five commoners, Sir Arthur Hazlerig, Hampden, Holles, Pym, and Strode, for having treacherously endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws and government of the kingdom, to deprive the king of his regal power, and to impose on his subjects an arbitrary and tyrannical authority, &c.

The lords were seized with amazement, on hearing both houses, in a manner, accused of high treason; every act which had been made to secure the people from any future attempt, condemned, as extorted by violence; and themselves requested to perform so unconstitutional an act, as to commit five members of

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the lower house, over which they had no power. They therefore appointed a committee to examine the irregularity of this proceeding.

Mean while the commons were informed, that Sir William Fleming, Sir William Killigrew, and others, were at Mr. Holles's and Mr. Pym's, sealing up their trunks, papers, and doors. Upon which they ordered their serjeant to go and break open the seals, and apprehend those who put them on; and passed an order, that every one should defend the liberty and privileges of their members. The king, irritated by this opposition, and stimulated by his queen, went the next day in person to the house of commons, with a train of five hundred followers, in order to seize the persons he had accused. The house having received intimation of the king's intention, ordered the five members to withdraw, lest blood should be spilt. This order was no sooner obeyed, than the doors were flung open, and the king appeared; and leaving his retinue at the door, walked immediately up to the chair, while all the members stood up to receive him. He then said, "By your leave, Mr. Speaker, I must borrow your chair." After having stood in it some time, viewing the members, who were all uncovered, he asked the Speaker, whether he saw any of the accused members, and where they were? The Speaker, kneeling replied, "I have neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak in this place, but as the house is pleased to direct me, whose servant I am here: and I humbly beg your Majesty's  
"pardon,

“ pardon, that I cannot give any other an-  
 “ swer than this, to what your Majesty is  
 “ pleased to demand of me.” Upon this the  
 king said, “ Gentlemen, I am sorry for this  
 “ occasion of coming to you. Yesterday, I  
 “ sent a serjeant at arms, to demand some,  
 “ who, by my order, were accused of high  
 “ treason. Instead of obedience, I received a  
 “ message. I must here declare to you, that,  
 “ tho’ no king, that ever was in England,  
 “ could be more careful of your privileges  
 “ than I shall be, yet in cases of treason, no  
 “ person has privilege. Therefore, am I come  
 “ to tell you, that I must have these men where-  
 “ soever I can find them. Well, since I see  
 “ all the birds are flown, I do expect that you  
 “ will send them to me as soon as they return.  
 “ But I assure you, on the word of a king, I  
 “ never did intend any force, but shall pro-  
 “ ceed against them in a fair and legal way :  
 “ for I never meant any other. And now  
 “ since I see I cannot do what I came for, I  
 “ think this no unfit occasion to repeat what  
 “ I have said formerly, that whatever I have  
 “ done in favour, and for the good of my  
 “ subjects, I do intend to maintain it.” The  
 king then retired in some confusion, many  
 members crying out, “ Privilege ! privilege !”

The house adjourned till the next day ; and  
 the same evening the accused members removed  
 into the city ; and the inhabitants were all  
 night in arms, while alarms of various kinds  
 were raised, that the cavaliers and papists were  
 come to fire the city, with the king at their

head. The next morning Charles sent orders to the lord mayor, to call a common-council immediately; and about ten o' clock, went himself to Guildhall, attended by three or four lords; and told the council, that he was come to demand such persons whom he had accused of treason; for he believed they were sheltered in the city: he hoped no good man would keep them from him, their offences being treason and misdemeanors of a high nature; and desired their assistance, that they might be brought to a legal trial. He had, however, the mortification to depart without receiving any mark of applause or approbation. In passing through the streets, he heard the cry, "Privilege of parliament! Privilege of parliament!" The next day, a proclamation was issued for apprehending the six members, forbidding all persons to harbour them; and the articles against them were printed and dispersed. The house of commons only met to vote, that the king had violated the privileges of parliament, and adjourning themselves for some days, appointed a committee to sit in Guildhall, to consider of every thing relating to the good and safety of the city and kingdom, and how to secure the privileges of parliament. This committee had also the direction of the Irish affairs. A message was also sent to the lords, to let them know what had passed the day before, and with their resolution.

The committee was received in the city with the greatest respect; and a guard of substantial citizens was appointed to attend them.

Charles

Charles began now severely to feel the difficulties and distresses into which he was driven by his imprudent conduct. It is said, that before this measure, his affairs began to wear a favourable aspect: but there now remained no doubt, that all his late acts of condescension were constrained, and that he thought all who had contributed to put a stop to his arbitrary measures, were guilty of treason. In this case, the depriving him of the power to impose taxes, to imprison his subjects, to make innovations in the established form of worship, and to assume a despotic power over the civil and religious liberties of the people, was considered as treason, and the whole parliament as guilty: it appeared, that if the king was sincere, when he declared himself tender of the liberties of his subjects, and tenacious of the privileges of parliament, at the same time that he intended an assault on the whole house, his opinion of the liberty of the subject, and the privileges of parliament, did not interfere with the highest acts of tyranny and usurpation.

Charles, either apprehensive of danger, from the enraged multitude, or unable to bear the triumph of his enemies, contrary to the advice of his wisest friends, retired to Hampton-court the day before the time appointed for the re-meeting of the parliament. The committee, with the six accused members, were then conducted to Westminster, with great state and solemnity, in a triumphant procession of the city-trained bands; the Thames was, at the same time, covered with boats and other vessels,



sels, adorned with flags and streamers, in which were small pieces of ordnance, and also drums, trumpets, and all other kinds of martial music. When the news of their being assembled was signified to the multitude, they expressed their joy by the sound of trumpets, the beat of drum, the discharge of ordnance on the water, and muskets on the land, intermixed with loud shouts and congratulations.

The house of commons now confirmed all the acts of their committee, and published a declaration, in which they asserted, that the sealing up the chambers, studies, and trunks of the accused members, by colour of the king's warrant, was both against the privileges of parliament, and the liberty of the subject; and that any person who shall arrest any members of parliament, by a warrant issued from the king only, is guilty of a breach of the liberties of the subject, the privileges of parliament, and a public enemy to the commonwealth.

The lord Kimbolton entreated the lords not to permit him to lie under a charge, in which his life, his estate, and his honour were concerned; but to charge the attorney general, to prosecute the accusation against him: but the next day his majesty sent to inform the lords, that he was pleased to wave his former proceedings; and that when the minds of people were composed, he intended to proceed in an unquestionable manner; and assured his parliament, that he would be as careful of their privileges as of his own. He afterwards, by  
successive

successive messages, offered a pardon to the members; proposed to concur in any law that should acquit or secure them, and to make reparation for the breach of privilege, of which he acknowledged they had reason to complain. They, however, resolved to accept of no satisfaction, unless he would discover his advisers in that illegal measure; but this he absolutely refused.

Distrust, fear, and jealousy, not only possessed the minds of both houses, but of all the people. A petition from the county of Buckingham was presented to the house of commons by six thousand men, who promised to live and die in defence of the privileges of parliament. The city of London, the counties of Essex, Surrey, Hertford, and Berks, imitated this example. A petition from the apprentices was also received; and the porters, whose number, they said, amounted to fifteen thousand, presented theirs, containing the same articles, with all the others; the privileges of parliament, the danger of religion, the rebellion in Ireland, and the decay of trade. Another petition was presented by several poor people, in the name of many thousands more. The very women now petitioned; and a brewer's wife, attended by many thousands of her sex, presented a petition to the house, in which they expressed their terror of the papists and prelates, and their dread of the like massacres, rapes, and outrages, which their sex had suffered in Ireland.

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By the despondency of the king's party, their opponents every where obtained an undisputed majority; and the bills sent up by the commons, which had hitherto stopped with the peers, now passed, and were presented for the royal assent. These were the pressing bills, and the bill against the votes of the bishops in parliament. The king's authority was, by his misconduct, reduced to the lowest ebb; and the queen being threatened with an impeachment, and finding no resource in his protection, was preparing to retire into Holland; the rage of the people being levelled at her, on account of the advice she gave the king; and she being desirous of facilitating her escape from England, prevailed on his majesty to pass these bills, in hopes of appeasing, for a time, the rage of the people.

The commons being sensible, that the king would take every opportunity to regain the power of which they had deprived him, resolved to prevent him, by every method which their wisdom could suggest. The arms and ammunition of the late army had been, by the king's command, laid up in the town of Hull. Previous to the attempt of seizing the five members, he had sent the earl of Newcastle to be governor, and to draw into the town, as many of the militia as he could. This alarming the commons, they dispatched thither Sir John Hotham, a gentleman of considerable fortune in the neighbourhood, and gave him the authority of governor. They sent orders to Goring, governor of Portsmouth, to obey no commands

mands without the king's authority, signified to him by the lords and commons; and never ceased soliciting the king, till he had given the command of the Tower to Sir John Conyers, in whom alone, they said, they could repose confidence.

At the same time both houses presented a petition, that the forts and militia of the kingdom might be put into their hands. To this the king answered, that when he should be informed of the extent of the power intended to be established in those persons, to whom the parliament desired to entrust the command of the militia; and how long he was to be debarred from exercising his power over it, without the advice of parliament, he would then put in such persons as the parliament should approve, provided he had no objection to them. The parliament perceiving, that the king's sole design was to gain time, passed an ordinance, which restored the lieutenants and deputies the same authority they had formerly exercised, with power to employ the militia in England and Wales, for the suppression of insurrections and invasions. The names of the persons who had been invested with this authority, were inserted in the ordinance; they were to be accountable to the parliament, and their authority to continue during the pleasure of that assembly. When this demand was made, the king was at Dover, attending the queen and the princess Mary in their embarkation; and he replied, that he had not now leisure to consider a matter of such importance, and  
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must, therefore, defer his answer till his return. The parliament instantly dispatched another message to him, expressing their grief at his majesty's answer to their just and necessary petition; representing, that any delay during such pressing dangers and distractions, was not less unsatisfactory and destructive, than an absolute denial. In return, he desired, if the military authority were defective, it should first be conferred upon the crown, and promised to bestow commissions, but revocable at pleasure, on the same persons whom the parliament had named in the bill. To this they instantly replied, that the dangers and disorders of the nation could endure no longer delay; and unless the king speedily complied with their request, they should be forced, for the safety of the prince and people, to dispose of the militia, by the authority of both houses, and were resolved to do it accordingly: and they invited him to fix his residence at London. On the receipt of this message, Charles peremptorily replied, that, for the militia, he was so assured, that his answer was agreeable to what, in justice or reason, they could ask, or he, in honour, grant, that he should not alter it in any point: for his residence near the parliament, he wished it might be safe and honourable, and that he had no cause to absent himself from Whitehall. This positive refusal produced, in the commons, the following resolutions: that the kingdom should be forthwith put in a posture of defence, by authority of parliament, in the way already agreed on by both houses; and

and that a committee should be appointed to prepare a declaration, to free the house from suspicions, and to lay down the just causes of the fears and jealousies on which they proceeded; and these resolutions were agreed to by the lords.

The earl of Clarendon supposes, that if the king had returned to the parliament immediately after the queen's departure, and the houses had been convinced, that he was no longer governed by her dictates, matters would have been composed by very moderate concessions on his part: but it was no sooner known, that he intended to make a progress northwards, and to take the prince with him, than they fell into their usual heat and debates on their just causes of jealousy and distrust\*. These debates did not alter Charles's intentions; he set out with his two sons for York, where he arrived by slow journies on the nineteenth of March 1642.

Many were the declarations and messages which passed between the king and parliament, during his journey. The king endeavoured to persuade the public, that, to give the parliament satisfaction, he had granted every thing he ought; while the parliament, by commenting on his conduct, strove to convince the nation, that at the very time when they, in a manner, forced his assent to their necessary demands, he had been, and was now, contriving the means to invalidate these concessions.

\* Clarendon's life, vol. I. pag. 107.



The king, on his arrival at York, at first found the people cautious in offering their service, and the dispositions of men in general not so favourable as he expected, in the counties remote from the capital; this induced him to inform the parliament, that he was resolved to go in person to suppress the rebellion in Ireland, and intended to raise in the counties near Chester a guard, consisting of two thousand foot and two hundred horse, to be armed from his magazine at Hull; and that the officers and common soldiers should all take the oath of supremacy and allegiance. But both houses were unanimously of opinion, that it would be dangerous and unsafe to consent to his majesty's going into Ireland; for their fears were alarmed at the apprehensions, that he would place himself at the head of the two opposite armies, that under Ormond, and that of the rebels, who pretended, that he allowed of their proceedings. They therefore drew up a petition against it, to which they added a resolution, declaring those enemies to the state, who should endeavour to raise forces for Ireland, without the consent of parliament.

Charles being disappointed in this scheme, turned his thoughts towards getting possession of the important fortress of Hull. The parliament, jealous of his near neighbourhood to this place, had sent orders to Sir John Hotham, to introduce into the town eight hundred of the Yorkshire militia; and though this reinforcement, with the ordinary garrison and strength of the place, was sufficient to repel  
any

any force the king could bring against it; yet fearing treachery, they petitioned the king to permit the removal of the magazine to the Tower of London, where the stores were much exhausted, with arming both the English and Scotch forces that served in Ireland. This being denied, the lords and commons thought it necessary to remove the magazine of Hull to the Tower of London, and sent orders to prepare ships for bringing it thither.

Charles now entertained hopes of getting the possession of Hull, and of all the arms of the forces which had been levied against the Scots; and therefore sent his son, the duke of York, the elector Palatine, and several of the nobility who had followed his fortune, to the town, where they were received with great civility and politeness, by the governor. The next day, which was the twenty-second of April, he advanced with three hundred horse, and sent a messenger to Sir John Hotham, with a letter, to inform him, he intended to visit his town of Hull, and the magazine; and that he must provide for the reception of him and his train. Sir John, in great confusion, called the chief magistrates of the town, and officers of the garrison, to a council; in which it being resolved not to admit the king, a respectful message was sent, entreating him to forbear his intended visit; and on his nearer approach, the bridge was drawn up, and the garrison put into a posture of defence. Charles, with a loud voice, demanded entrance, when Sir John kneeling, pleaded his trust from parliament,

and with much civility of language, gave him an absolute refusal. The king then repeated his demand, and offered to reduce his train to twenty persons; but in vain. He then desired the governor to come out to him, promising, that he should return in safety: the governor not chusing to trust him, excused himself from obedience; but readily consented to the demand, that the king's son, and the rest of his friends, should leave the town. Charles, enraged at this disappointment, proclaimed Hotham a traitor, by two heralds at arms; and after having staid five hours before Hull, returned to Beverley.

This was an important incident, as it prevented the king from becoming master of the largest magazine of arms in the kingdom; and Sir John being a man of fortune, who had an important stake in the country, his example had a great influence on the behaviour of others. The king demanded justice of the parliament against Hotham; and the parliament justified their governor, declaring, that he had done nothing but in obedience to their commands: and upon this new subject of dispute, innumerable papers passed between the king and the parliament.

Though Charles's court, on his first arrival at York, had a solitary aspect, the royalists soon flocked thither in great numbers; and most of the nobility and gentry of large property in the kingdom, from a variety of causes, espoused the fallen state of monarchy: some, considering the king as the only source  
of

of honour and riches, expected to gain rank and preferment, by attaching themselves to his fortune in this time of adversity: others, priding themselves in a fancied superiority of station, dreaded more than slavery, that equal partition, privilege, and liberty, to which the spirit of the times was visibly tending; and others submitted with superstitious reverence to the claims of the crown and the mitre; and regarded it as an act of devotion, to support prerogatives they had been taught to look upon as sacred, and of divine original.

No less than nine peers were impeached by the commons for departing without leave, and continuing at York, notwithstanding a summons to return to parliament; and being suspected of a design to promote a civil war, were sentenced to lose their vote and privilege in the present parliament. The great resort to the king's court had an obvious influence on the conduct of the Yorkshire gentlemen, who gave the king a guard of a troop of cavalry, and a regiment of militia. The parliament petitioned the king to disband his forces; telling him, that if he would not desist from his designs, they should hold themselves obliged, in duty towards God, the trust reposed in them by the people, and the fundamental laws and constitution of the realm, to employ their care and utmost power to secure the parliament, and to preserve the peace and quiet of the kingdom. The king, instead of complying, again demanded them to give him satisfaction on Sir John Hotham, and to restore to him the

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possession of Hull, with the forts and magazines, and to lay down all pretensions of declaring what was law.

The parliament had at length removed the magazine at Hull, to the Tower of London, and had secured to themselves the command of the navy, by appointing the earl of Warwick admiral of the fleet, under the earl of Northumberland. On the tenth of May, eight thousand militia, disposed in six regiments under proper officers, under the command of serjeant-major-general Skippon, were drawn out in Finsbury fields, and reviewed by the two houses, a large tent having been prepared for them by the care of the city, by whom they were treated with a magnificent entertainment. Orders were then sent to the several counties, to put in immediate execution the ordinance of the militia; and directions dispatched to the lord-lieutenants and their deputies, to secure the magazines of each county, and to supply private persons with arms and ammunition.

Orders were soon after issued for bringing in loans of money, plate, and horses, for the public use; and within ten days, such vast quantities of plate were brought to the treasurers appointed by parliament, that there were hardly men sufficient to receive it, or room to stow it; and many, with regret, were obliged to carry back their offerings, and wait till the treasurer could find leisure to receive them.

Mean while lord-keeper Littleton, after sending the great seal before him, fled to York; on which the earl of Northumberland moved,  
that

that a committee might be appointed to consider of an accommodation between the king and his people: upon which the parliament, according to the king's repeated invitation, that they would digest all their demands into one body, drew up the following nineteen propositions: that the members of the privy-council, and the officers of state, should be approved by the two houses, or by the council, in the interval of parliament, and that privy-counsellors should take an oath for the due execution of their office; the form to be agreed on by parliament: that public acts should be done by the consent of the major part of the council, attested under their hands: that the number of the council should not exceed twenty-five: that the persons entrusted with the government of the king's children, should be approved by both houses, or in the interval of parliament, by the council: that none of the royal family should marry without the consent of parliament: that the laws should be put in execution against Catholics; and that the popish lords should be excluded from voting: that the king should consent to such reformation of the church as both houses of parliament, with the assistance of divines, should advise: that he would rest satisfied with the ordinance of the militia, till it should be settled by bill: that the members of parliament, who had been deprived of their offices this session, should be restored, on the petition of both houses: that privy-counsellors and judges should take an oath to maintain the petition of right, and  
other



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other statutes made this parliament: that the officers of state, and judges, should hold their places *quamdiu se bene gesserint*: that the justice of parliament pass upon all delinquents: that a general pardon be granted, with such exceptions as should be advised by parliament: that the forts and castles should be put under the custody of persons approved by parliament, or in the interval of parliament, by the council: that the king's levies be disbanded: that he should enter into a more strict alliance with the states of the United Provinces, and other Protestant princes, for the recovery of the Palatinate: that the six members should be cleared by act of parliament; and that no peers made hereafter, should sit in parliament without consent of both houses. The parliament promised, on the king's granting their desires, to regulate his revenue; to make it larger than any former grants to the crown; and to put the town of Hull into such hands as his majesty should appoint.

It must be acknowledged, that these propositions new modelled the constitution, and would have infused so much of the spirit of a republic, as to deprive the king of every prerogative pernicious to good government; but in his present circumstances, he was not in a disposition to consent to such an abridgment of his royal privileges. "Should I grant these demands, said the king in his reply, I may be waited on bare headed; I may have my hand kissed; the title of majesty continued to me; and the king's authority, signified  
" by

“ by both houses of parliament, may be still  
 “ the stile of your commands: I may have  
 “ swords and maces carried before me, and  
 “ please myself with the sight of a crown and  
 “ sceptre; but even these twigs would not long  
 “ flourish, when the stock upon which they  
 “ grew was dead; but as to true and real  
 “ power, I should remain but the outside, but  
 “ the picture, but the sign of a king.”

Mean while the queen, by disposing of the crown jewels in Holland, had been enabled to purchase a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition; and a small vessel laden with part of these, after escaping many dangers, arrived safely to the king, who now prevailed with the nobility of York to sign a paper, in which they engaged to defend his person, crown, and dignity, and to issue out commissions of array; at the same time declaring, that his intentions were not to make war against the parliament, but against a few malignant spirits whom he was determined to bring to justice. The commission of array was an antiquated prerogative, founded on a statute of Henry IV. which had been repealed, and therefore gave great disgust.

The parliament having received advice from Holland, that vessels had sailed from thence laden with arms, with prince Rupert, prince Maurice, and other officers on board, who intended to serve in the royal army; that some of the troops raised by the commissioners of array, had begun hostilities on the officers of the militia, and had attempted to seize on a magazine

gazine of arms in Leicestershire, guarded by the earl of Stamford; that that nobleman and his followers were declared traitors; that troops were sent into Lincolnshire, and horses seized by force; that a garrison was put into Newcastle; that fortifications were erected on the river Tyne, to interrupt the conveyance of coal; that several commissions had been delivered out, to raise volunteers for the king's service, and that a threatening declaration was made against the proceedings of both houses; they resolved to put themselves in a posture of defence, and passed a vote for raising an army, of which the earl of Essex should be general, and the earl of Bedford commander of the horse. At the same time, a vote was passed for petitioning the king to come to an agreement with his parliament, in order to prevent a civil war. Their proposals, however, were rejected.

Charles now immediately proceeded to attempt the reduction of Hull: but the earl of Lindsey, after making a few impotent attacks with a small body of raw undisciplined troops, amounting to two thousand five hundred horse and foot, was obliged to draw off his forces. The king was, however, compensated for this repulse, by the conduct of Goring, governor of Portsmouth, the best fortified town in the kingdom, and of great importance, from its situation: for Goring, notwithstanding his having professed the most strict attachment to the parliament in this important crisis, declared for the king. The accession of  
such

such an important sea-port town elated Charles to such a degree, that he immediately published a declaration, in which he recapitulated all those actions, which he termed insolent and rebellious in the two houses; and at the same time published a proclamation, requiring all men, who could bear arms, to repair to his standard, which was to be erected at Nottingham, on the twenty-fifth of August following. The nation had, at this time, the highest veneration for parliaments. The custom of reviling those assemblies for corruption was unknown; and the house of commons was considered in no other light than as the representatives of the nation, whose interest was the same with that of the public; who were the eternal guardians of law and liberty, and whom no motive but the necessary defence of the people could ever engage in an opposition to the crown\*. Hence the torrent of general affection ran to the parliament, who, actuated by a generous love of freedom, and incited by the fear of again falling into that slavery, from which they had gloriously redeemed themselves and their country, were now excited by every consideration of public and private interest, to defend themselves against a prince, who, for the space of twelve years, had levelled the boundaries of law, and thrown down the bulwarks of civil and religious freedom: that such a prince, in his adverse state, should find a party to espouse his broken fortunes; that he

\* Hume.

should

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should be able to persuade men to lift their impious hands against the authors of liberty, and drench their country in blood, to support a power he had abused, are circumstances which exhibit a melancholy proof of the extreme weakness and depravity of the human mind\*.

Though the injuries the English had suffered under the family of the Stuarts, had, in appearance, roused an universal spirit of opposition; yet, when the indefeasible power of the people was opposed to the claims of monarchy, the king found, among the men of fortune and family, a numerous party, who, priding themselves on their descent from opulent ancestors, fancied they had a right to tyrannize over their fellow citizens, and growing sick of the new broached doctrines, which asserted, that all men had an equal right to liberty, deserted the cause, which envy and oppression had engaged them to abet, and ranged themselves on the side of the crown. Thus the greater weight of landed interest fell on the side of the king, who had also all the Catholics, and those who were superstitiously attached to the hierarchy.

These advantages were more than balanced by the popularity of the parliament; and by the love of liberty, which was diffused among the active, the industrious, and the commercial part of the nation. The king had a particular disadvantage arising from the duplicity of his conduct: he had frequently violated his engagements with his people; and now, not-

\* Mrs. Macaulay.

withstanding all his assertions to the contrary, they, in general, believed, that he had an aversion to the free government of the country; that he had consented to all the laws in favour of liberty with reluctance; that neither his oaths nor promises could be depended on, and that he only waited till he had sufficient power, and a proper opportunity, to resume all his former arbitrary measures.

The royal standard was erected at Nottingham on the day appointed; but to the surprize and mortification of the king, the people did not at first resort to it, in obedience to his proclamation. His artillery, though far from numerous, had been left at York, for want of horses to transport it; and besides the trained-bands of the county, raised by Sir John Digby, the sheriff, he had not got together above three hundred infantry. His cavalry, which did not exceed eight hundred, and were very ill provided with arms, was commanded by prince Rupert, and lay at Leicester; and his force was so much inferior to what the parliament had now in the field, that Sir Jacob Ashley, serjeant major-general of his army, told him, that he could not give him any assurance, that he might not be taken out of his bed, if the rebels should attempt it. While the king and his friends were ruminating on the danger of their situation, they received the mortifying news, that Portsmouth being besieged both by sea and land by the parliament's forces, would be reduced in a few days.

The king, in his way to Nottingham, had  
 VOL. X. H proposed



proposed to enter Coventry; but the citizens shut their gates, fired at his men, and obliged him to retire. The anxiety of mind occasioned by these alarming circumstances, was heightened by superstitious apprehensions, arising from his standard's being accidentally blown down by a high wind. This induced the nobility to press the king to send an immediate message to the parliament with overtures of peace; but this he absolutely refused, and hastily broke up the council. However, the earl of Southampton, the next day, urging the same advice, it was listened to with more coolness and deliberation; and, by the unanimous desire of the counsellors, he was prevailed with to embrace Southampton's advice; and that nobleman, with Sir John Colepeper, and Sir William Uvedale, were dispatched to London, with offers of a treaty to the following purport: that the king had, with unspeakable grief of heart, beheld the distractions of the kingdom; and to prevent the miseries ready to overwhelm the nation, by a civil war, proposed to the parliament, to appoint persons to treat with a like number authorized by him; and he concluded with assuring them, that this motion was solely owing to his Christian and pious care, to prevent the effusion of blood; his provision of men, arms, and money, being sufficient to secure him from violence, till it pleased God to open the eyes of his people.

The parliament wasted no time in unnecessary disputes; but two days after they had received this proposal, dispatched a message to the king,

in which they told him, that till he should recal his proclamations, by which the earl of Essex and both houses of parliament, with those who obeyed their commands, were declared traitors, and till his standard was taken down, they could not, consistently with the public trust reposed in them, or the good and safety of the kingdom, give any answer to his proposal. This sudden determination so alarmed the royalists, that they advised the king to lay aside all thoughts of conquest; to haste to London, and appear in parliament before they had any item of his intention. This seasonable proposal was rejected with disdain: but the parliament having sent their principal officers to their army, which lay at Northampton, with orders to prepare for their march, it was thought necessary to amuse them by another message, in which the king promised to recal his proclamations, provided they would recal theirs, in which his adherents were declared traitors. The parliament perceiving the king's aim, immediately dispatched the messenger with an answer, in which they charged the king with duplicity of conduct, in sending hostile instructions to his commissioners of array, since his pacific professions; and entreated him to disband his forces, and return to his parliament, where, they said, he would find such expressions of their fidelity and duty, as should assure him, that his safety, honour, and greatness, could only be found in the affections of his people, and in their sincere counsels.

From this period the king's levies, and other

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warlike preparations, were carried on with great expedition. When the earl of Essex joined the army, it amounted to fifteen thousand men; and the king found it necessary to decamp from Nottingham, and retire into the west. It would have been extremely easy, while he lay at Nottingham, or in his retreat from thence, for the parliament's forces to have dispersed the small handful of his followers, and either to have taken him prisoner, or obliged him to quit the kingdom: but this opportunity was missed, by the too cautious disposition of the earl of Essex, who had not yet received his instructions. A fatal neglect, occasioned by the sanguine hopes of the parliamentary leaders, who, depending on the king's unpopular character, and judging the sentiments of the fickle vulgar by the liberal warmth of their own feelings, considered it as impossible for him to raise a force sufficient to encounter their army; they thought that the nobility and gentry would soon be weary of maintaining the troops already on foot: and that they should thus accomplish their designs, without spilling the blood of their countrymen.

Charles was permitted to retreat to Shrewsbury, without molestation. On his arrival at Wellington, he caused his military orders to be read at the head of each regiment; after which he addressed the troops in the following manner: he could not suspect their resolution: their conscience, their loyalty had brought them together to fight for their religion, their king, and the laws of the land: they should meet

meet with no enemies but traitors, most of them Brownists, Anabaptists, and Deists, who desired to destroy both church and state : that they might see what use he intended to make of their valour, if it pleased God to bless it with success, he promised, in the presence of Almighty God, to defend the true Protestant religion established in the church of England ; to govern by the known laws of the land ; to maintain the just privileges and freedom of parliament ; and particularly to observe those laws to which he had assented : but if the great necessity and streights into which he was driven, produced any violation of these, he hoped it would be imputed by God and man, to the authors of the war, and not to him, who had so earnestly laboured for the preservation and peace of the kingdom.

The multitude swallowed the bait, nor could the well known insincerity of the king's temper, prevent people of all ranks from being caught by his flattering speeches in all the counties through which he had passed. The inhabitants of Derby, Stafford, and Shropshire, answered his promises with passionate expressions of affection to his person, and adherence to his fortune. In Shrewsbury he met with as favourable a reception, and was now no longer in want of money ; the gentry not only supplied him with their purses, but their plate ; and undertook, at their own expence, to make levies of horse and foot ; at the same time the two universities sent in their hoarded treasures. Hence, within twenty days after his arrival at Shrewsbury, he found himself in a

condition to meet the parliament's forces, his army amounting to two thousand horse and six thousand foot, was furnished with arms from the Nottingham militia, and the armories of the noblemen and gentlemen of his party; and was attended by a good train of artillery, with carriage-horses and waggons, prepared by the parliament for the service of Ireland: these last the king had seized at Chester, where they were going to be embarked.

The instructions Essex had received from the parliament were, that he should present a petition to the king to return to parliament; which, if he complied with, all the forces, except those necessary to secure his return, were to be disbanded: that he should rescue him and the royal family from the malignant faction: that he should offer pardon to such as would return to their duty in ten days, with an exception of twelve of the principal persons of the king's adherents. Essex no sooner received these instructions than he sent to Shrewsbury to know when the king would receive the petition: but the spirits of the court were now so elevated, that the petition was refused to be accepted.

Two days after the king left Shrewsbury, Essex left Worcester, and the armies were within six miles of each other, before either of the generals was acquainted with the approach of his enemy. At Edgocot, a village in Northamptonshire, the king was informed, by prince Rupert, at twelve o'clock at night, of the near neighbourhood of the parliament's army; and he resolving on the attack, his army

was drawn together on Edgehill, within two miles of the enemy. Essex was as little acquainted with the numbers as the motions of the royalists; two of his best regiments of foot, and one of his horse, were a day's march behind, with the ammunition. He however drew up his men to as much advantage as possible. His right wing, composed of two bodies of horse, and a body of foot, were drawn up near Keinton; his left wing, composed of a thousand horse, and a strong body of foot, was commanded by Ramsay, a Scotchman; and the center, by Sir William Balfour, under the earl of Bedford, general of the horse; Essex himself, resolving to charge in person at the head of a regiment of foot. The center of the king's army was commanded by Sir John Byron, the right wing by prince Rupert, and the left by colonel Wilmot; while Lindesey placed himself in a situation similar to that which the earl of Essex had chosen.

No sooner did the king's army approach, than Sir Faithful Fortescue, an Irishman, who had the command of a troop of cavalry, in the parliament's army, ordered his men to discharge their pistols on the ground, and put himself under the command of prince Rupert. This treachery so intimidated the left wing, where he was posted, that they fled on the first attack. The right wing of the parliament's army, was also put to flight, by Wilmot and Sir Arthur Aston, who carried on the pursuit with such rash precipitation, that they exposed the center, in which were the persons of the king and his

two



two sons, to imminent danger. Sir William Balfour, perceiving the advantage, attacked the king's infantry, now quite unfurnished with horse, and made great havock among them. Lindefey, the general, was mortally wounded and taken prisoner. His son endeavouring his rescue, fell into the enemy's hands. Sir Edmund Verney, the king's standard bearer, was killed. Prince Rupert, on his return from pillaging the baggage of the enemy, found, instead of a complete victory, all the symptoms of a defeat. The two armies faced each other for some time; but both parties being equally unwilling to repeat the bloody scene, retreated from farther engagement, but spent the night near the field of battle.

The returning light discovered to both parties the sight of each other; but though the parliament army was joined by a body of between three and four thousand foot, commanded by colonel Hampden, and though it was proposed, in a council of war, to renew the battle, Essex drew off his men, and retired to Warwick, leaving Banbury, which being attacked by the royalists, surrendered on the first assault, though garrisoned with a regiment of eight hundred foot and a troop of horse. Such was the event of the first battle fought on the twenty-third of October, 1642, in which five thousand men are said to have been found dead on the field; and the loss of the two armies appears to have been nearly equal.

Both parties pretended to a complete victory; but the city of London was alarmed with  
the

the news of a total defeat from a party of Essex's horse, who flying on the first onset, had not recovered their panic so far as to return to the field of battle. The king, after he had recruited and refreshed his horse, continued his march, and took possession of Oxford, the only town in his dominions which was then at his devotion. From thence he proceeded to Reading, the governor and garrison of which fled to London, on the approach of a party of horse.

The prospect of affairs now began to darken. Essex, after missing several opportunities, might easily have taken the king prisoner, even at the battle of Edgehill; but he was now grown formidable, and the parliament, after dallying with their advantages, found themselves engaged in a bloody war, the uncertain event of which, rendered the very existence of liberty precarious. The public consternation was encreased by the king's approach to Colnbrook, while Essex was yet at a distance. In these alarming circumstances, the parliament voted an address for a treaty; and this was soon after presented by Northumberland and Pembroke, with three commoners. In this address, they besought his majesty to appoint a convenient place for his residence, till committees could attend him with proposals. The king named Windsor, and desired, that their garrison might be removed, and his own troops admitted into that castle.

Mean while the king, expecting that every thing would yield before him, instead of waiting for the treaty, marched forward, in order

to seize the parliament's train of artillery at Hammersmith, and then to surprize London. Two regiments of foot, and a small party of horse, lying at Brentford, opposed his passage with such intrepidity, that they were all cut off, except those who were taken prisoners. A few days before this engagement, the earl of Essex had arrived at London with his army, which, on the news of the attack at Brentford, was drawn out on Turnham-green, and joined by a numerous band of militia, and the London apprentices. Essex was now at the head of twenty-four thousand men, completely armed, besides detachments to the amount of eight thousand, with a fine train of artillery. In a council of war, it was proposed by the standing committee appointed by parliament to attend the general, that a detachment of troops, then lying at Kingston should advance to Hounslow; that two regiments of cavalry, and four of infantry, should defile towards Acton; and that on a signal given, the royalists should be attacked in front, rear, and flank; and by one decisive stroke, put an end to the war: but the earls of Essex, Northumberland, and Holland, from selfish views, opposing this advice, this promising army, after having for some time faced the enemy's horse, while their main body retreated to Kingston, wheeled about, and returned to London; and Charles, after having fortified and garrisoned Reading, retired to Oxford.

While the winter season kept the armies on both sides in a state of inaction, the king and parliament

parliament were employed in seeming advances towards peace, and in real preparations for war. Charles, by means of contributions levied by the horse, maintained his cavalry; and the loans and voluntary presents sent him from all parts of the kingdom by his adherents, supported his infantry. The parliament was unwillingly obliged to have recourse to the unpopular expedient of heavy assessments upon towns and counties: besides an imposition levied in London, amounting to the twenty-fifth part of every one's substance, they established a weekly assessment on that city of ten thousand pounds, and another of twenty-three thousand five hundred and eighteen pounds on the rest of the kingdom. They were, however, desirous of a peace on any terms that could give a rational security for the preservation of the constitution, as improved and explained by the acts lately passed; and dreading an addition to the king's strength, by the arrival of the queen, who was daily expected with a large sum of money, arms, and ammunition, the two houses desired a treaty of peace, and was joined in their petition by the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, inviting the king to come back to the parliament, and put himself on the affections of the parliament and city. The king insisted, that the lord-mayor, and other leaders whom he had particularly marked as traitors in his proclamation, should be delivered up; and declared, that whosoever should thenceforward contribute, by the payment of any tax, on what pretence of authority

rity soever, to the maintenance of the army under the command of the earl of Essex, must expect the severest punishment the law could inflict. This answer, so entirely in the stile of a conqueror, Charles ordered the committee of aldermen, who presented him the petition, to read publickly at a common hall before all the people. The lord-mayor, by the consent of both houses, readily obeyed, and the king's answer was read in a full assembly of the citizens; after which Mr. Pym made a long speech, in which he acknowledged the generous conduct of the city, and their steady adherence to the principles of liberty; and then made some spirited animadversions, which were received with general applause, and were followed by the citizens declaring, that they would live and die with the two houses of parliament.

The king, enraged at this disappointment, sent an angry declaration to the sheriffs of London, requiring the master and wardens of the several companies to summon their members, and to read the above answer in their several halls; directing the sheriffs to commit the lord mayor and three of the aldermen to safe custody. But the parliament fearing the activity and strength of the king's party, forbade these assemblies to meet at the halls of their several companies. The two houses, however, wrote to the king for a safe conduct, for the commissioners appointed to carry him proposals of peace. This was at last granted. In the proposals now offered, the parliament abated of their former demands, insisting upon nothing which

which was not necessary in the present situation of affairs, to preserve the constitution, except the abolition of episcopacy, and that ecclesiastical controversies should be determined by their assembly of divines: but the king strenuously insisting on the re-establishment of the crown in all its powers and prerogatives, the parliament finding that there was no probability of their coming to any agreement, suddenly recalled their commissioners.

A military enterprize was now immediately undertaken. The earl of Essex, on the fifteenth of April 1643, sat down before Reading, the nearest town to London, that was garrisoned by the king, with an army of 18,000 men, and carried on the attack by regular approaches. Sir Arthur Aston, the governor, being wounded, colonel Fielding succeeded to the command. The king approached, in order to oblige Essex to raise the siege; but his army was so strongly entrenched, as to render that design impracticable. Fielding soon after surrendered the town, on condition of bringing off the garrison with the honours of war, and delivering up the deserters. This last article was esteemed so prejudicial to the king's interest, that Fielding was tried by a council of war, and condemned to lose his life; but the king afterwards remitted his sentence.

Sir William Waller began, in 1643, to distinguish himself as a general of the parliament's forces. After taking Winchester and Chichester, he advanced towards Gloucester, which was blockaded by lord Herbert,



with a considerable body of forces, which he had raised for the king in Wales. Waller attacked them on one side, and the city making a sally at the same time, Herbert was defeated; five hundred killed on the spot; a thousand taken prisoners, and Herbert himself with difficulty escaped to Oxford. Waller then took Hereford, though it was defended by a considerable garrison. He afterwards took Tewksbury: but without placing any garrisons in these towns, he retired to Gloucester, and soon after joined the army under Essex.

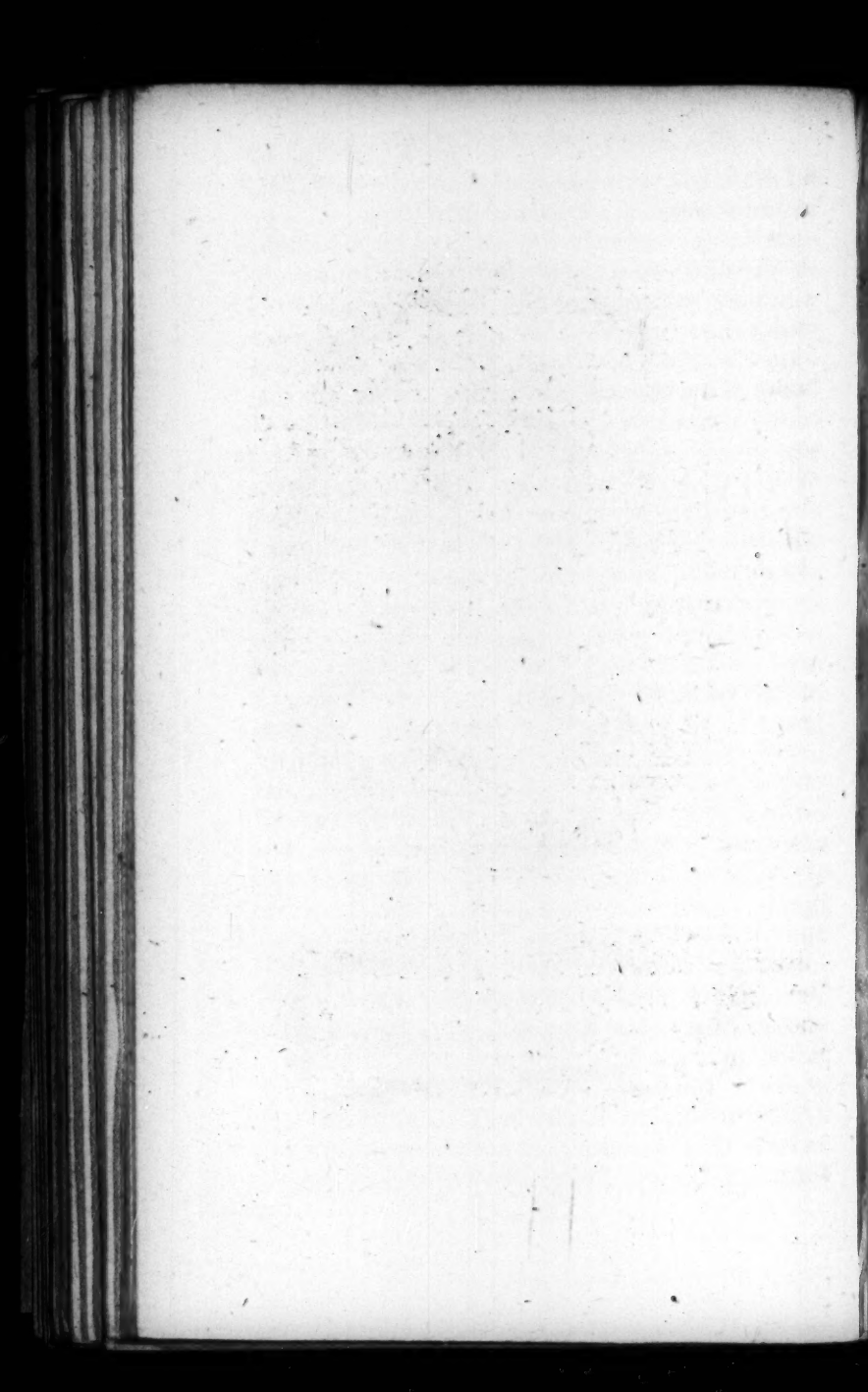
In the north, the earl of Newcastle commanded for the king, and the lord Fairfax for the parliament. The former associated in a league for the king, the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham; and some time after, engaged other counties in the same association. Observing that Fairfax, assisted by Hotham, and the garrison of Hull, was making a progress in the southern parts of Yorkshire, he advanced with four thousand men, and took possession of York: he afterwards attacked the parliament's forces at Tadcaster, and dislodged them; and obtained some other advantages.

In the mean time, the queen landed at Burlington Bay, with a considerable quantity of arms, ammunition, and some money; after having with difficulty escaped the vigilance of vice-admiral Batten, who followed her into the bay, and firing at the small vessels which were landing the ammunition, some of the ball reach-  
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**HENRIETTA,**  
**QUEEN of CHARLES I.**

*J. Collyer fecit.*



ed the house where she lodged, and obliged her to remove to a more secure habitation.

After the queen's arrival, the king's affairs in the north grew every day more prosperous : numbers of the Catholics enlisted themselves under the banners of their patroness ; and when united to the forces collected under the earl of Newcastle, made so formidable a body, that lord Fairfax was obliged to keep on the defensive in Pomfret and Halifax. A detachment of the earl of Newcastle's forces, under the command of Mr. Cavendish, took Grantham, with three hundred prisoners and some ammunition ; and Sir Hugh Cholmondeley delivered up Scarborough castle to the queen. In the west, the marquis of Hertford, by a superior force under the earl of Bedford, was driven out of Devonshire into Wales ; and Sir Ralph Hopton, with a small troop under his command, retired into Cornwall ; where the people being inclined to the king's service, the militia were raised, Launceston taken, and all Cornwall reduced to the king's obedience. But as the Cornish militia could not legally be obliged to leave their own county, and to march against Devonshire, the Cornish royalists resolved to raise a force for this purpose ; and Sir Bevil Granville, Sir Ralph Hopton, Sir Nicholas Slanning, Arundel, and Trevannion, raised an army for the king at their own expence. The parliament being alarmed, gave a commission to Ruthven, a Scotchman, governor of Plymouth, to march with all the forces of Dorset, Somerset, and Devon, in order

der to make an entire conquest of Cornwall; and the earl of Stamford followed at some distance with a considerable supply. Ruthven having thrown bridges over the Tamar, entered Cornwall, and hastened to an action, lest Stamford, by joining him, should obtain the honour of the victory. The royalists were also eager to give him battle, before Ruthven obtained so considerable a reinforcement. The battle was fought on Bradoc Down; and the forces of the parliament, though superior in number, were totally defeated. Ruthven, with a few broken troops, fled to Saltash; and that town being soon after taken, he escaped with some difficulty to Plymouth. Stamford retired, and distributed his forces into Plymouth and Exeter.

As the Cornish royalists were in extreme want of money and ammunition, they were obliged to enter into a neutrality with the parliamentary party in Devonshire, which was to last all the winter. In the spring, Stamford having assembled a strong body of near 7000 men, well supplied with money, provisions, and ammunition, advanced upon the royalists, who were in great necessity, and not half his number. They, however, resolved to make one vigorous effort, in order to overcome the disadvantages under which they laboured. Stamford being encamped on the top of a hill near Stratton, they attacked him on the sixteenth of May, at five in the morning, in four divisions. The king's forces, pressed with vigour up the hill four ways; while their enemies defended themselves

themselves with equal resolution. The fight continued with doubtful success; till the chief of the Cornish officers were informed, that they had not four barrels of powder left. This they concealed from the soldiers, and agreed to advance without firing, till they had reached the top of the hill. The courage of the officers was so well seconded by the soldiers, that the royalists began, on all sides, to gain ground. Major-general Chidley, who commanded the parliamentary army, while Stamford kept at a distance, seeing his men recoil, advanced with a good stand of pikes, and piercing into the thickest of the enemy, was at last overpowered with numbers, and taken prisoner. Upon this disaster his army gave ground; and the four parties of the royalists approaching each other, as they ascended, met together upon the plain at the top, where they obtained a complete victory, which they signalized with loud shouts and mutual congratulations.

The attention both of the king and parliament was, after this success, turned towards the west, as to an important scene of action. Charles sent prince Maurice, and the marquis of Hertford, with a reinforcement of cavalry, who, joining the Cornish army, soon over-run Devonshire, and began to reduce Somersetshire to obedience. The parliament, on the other hand, sent Sir William Waller with an army, to check the progress of the royalists. After some skirmishes, the two armies met at Lansdown, near Bath; and on the fifth of July 1643, fought a pitched battle, with great loss



on both sides, though it was not decisive. Granville was, however, slain, and Hopton dangerously wounded, by the blowing up of some powder. The royalists now marched eastwards, in order to join their forces to the king's at Oxford; but Waller hung on their rear, and gauled them in their march, till they reached the Devizes. Being reinforced by additional troops, which flocked to him from all quarters, he greatly exceeded the royalists in number; when the latter being afraid of hazarding an action, it was resolved, that prince Maurice and Hertford should proceed with the cavalry; and having procured a reinforcement from the king, should hasten back to the relief of their friends. Waller was so confident of his taking this body of infantry, now abandoned by the horse, that he wrote to the parliament, that his work was done, and that he would soon inform them of the number and quality of the prisoners. But Charles having before heard of the great difficulties to which his western army was reduced, had already sent the lord Wilmot with a considerable body of cavalry. Waller drew up on Roundway-down, about two miles from the Devizes; and advancing, on the thirteenth of July, with his cavalry to fight Wilmot, before he joined the Cornish infantry, was received by the royalists with equal valour; and after a sharp engagement, was totally routed; and being put to flight, escaped with a few horse to Bristol. Wilmot now seized the enemy's cannon; and having joined the Cornish troops,

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**JOHN HAMPDEN.**

troops, attacked Waller's infantry, drove them off the field, and dispersed the whole army.

The parliament were struck with dismay at this important defeat; and the principal army, commanded by Essex, was greatly alarmed. Waller exclaimed loudly against that general, for suffering Wilmot to pass him, and to proceed without interruption, to the succour of the distressed infantry at the Devizes.

Soon after colonel Urrey, a Scotchman, who served in the parliament's army, not thinking his preferment equal to his merit, came to Oxford, and proposed to the king, to conduct the royalists where they might make great havock on his comrades, who were unprepared to receive them. Prince Rupert took him at his word; and falling suddenly upon the dispersed bodies of Essex's army, routed two regiments of cavalry, and one of infantry; and carried his ravages within two miles of the general's quarters. On the alarm given, by the treachery of this base Scot, the soldiers, with eager and indignant haste, mounted on horseback to pursue the victors, recover the prisoners, and revenge the insult. Among the most forward of those was the gallant Hampden, who, though an officer of the infantry, joined the horse as a private volunteer, and overtaking Rupert on Chalgrove-hill, entered into the thickest of the battle. Essex had given orders to entertain the prince with skirmishes till he should come up; but his officers seeing the enemy loaded with spoil, precipitately advanced with the most forward of their men, and were  
almost

almost all cut off or taken prisoners, while the rest of the party escaped by flight. The earl of Essex coming up time enough to have a distant view of the rout, made a stand to receive his flying troops. This giving prince Rupert time to gain a bridge, which he must necessarily pass in his retreat, he forced Essex to retire to his quarters, and then returned in triumph to Oxford, loaded with booty, and two hundred prisoners. What most pleased the royalists, was the news that Mr. Hampden was wounded; for he had been seen to ride off the field before the action was finished; his head hanging down, and his hands leaning upon his horse's neck. This brave man and generous patriot, was shot in the shoulder with a brace of bullets, and the bone broken. Of this wound he lingered six days, and then died.

Essex now leaving Thame and Aylesbury, where he had hitherto lain, thought proper to retreat nearer to London with his broken and discouraged forces, which a few months before he had led into the field in a flourishing condition. The king sent his army westward, under prince Rupert, who joining the Cornish troops, laid siege to Bristol, the second town for riches and greatness in the kingdom. Nathaniel Fiennes, the governor of that city, was better skilled in fighting the battles of liberty in the senate, than in the field, and commanded a garrison of 2500 foot, and two regiments, one of horse, and another of dragoons. The fortifications being neither complete nor regular, prince Rupert resolved to storm

storm the city. The Cornish, in three divisions, attacked the west side with the utmost resolution: but though the middle division had already mounted the wall, the assailants were repulsed with a considerable loss both of officers and soldiers. The assault was conducted on the prince's side with equal loss, but with better success. One party led by lord Grandison, was beaten off, and his lordship mortally wounded: another, under the command of colonel Bellasis, met with the like fate: but Washington, with a smaller party, observing a place in the curtain weaker than the rest, broke in, and soon made way for the horse to follow. Nothing, however, but the suburbs was yet gained. They had still greater difficulties to encounter in entering the town, and the army was extremely discouraged: but Fiennes being taken with a sudden panic, a parley was founded; and after a treaty which lasted eight hours, he delivered up the city on the shameful conditions, that all the garrison, except the officers, should march out without their arms, colours, cannon or ammunition; but should have a safe convoy to Warminster, and not be molested in their march for three days, and the inhabitants be secured in the possession of their property. These conditions were, however, very ill observed; the soldiers, after delivering up their arms, instead of a safe convoy, were ill treated; and those of the inhabitants, who were thought disaffected, were basely plundered. Great complaints being made of these violences, the royalists apologized



gized for them, by pretending, that these were a retaliation for some violences committed on their friends at the surrender of Reading.

Had the king marched to London immediately after the defeat of lord Fairfax in the north, Sir William Waller in the west, and the surrender of Bristol; when there was no army in a condition to oppose him; when jarring faction divided the opinions, and weakened the authority of parliament; when his party, flushed with success, might have raised in the city a powerful combination in his favour; he would, in all probability, have been crowned with an absolute victory: but this was almost as much dreaded by several of his adherents, as by his enemies.

Charles having joined the camp at Bristol, and sent prince Maurice with a detachment into Devonshire, deliberated how he should employ his remaining forces. His marching directly to London was proposed; but Gloucester lying within twenty miles, appeared an easier conquest. It was the only garrison which the parliament now possessed in those parts; and could that city be reduced, the king would have under his command the whole course of the Severn; the rich and malecontent counties of the west, might be obliged to pay high contributions, as an atonement for their disaffection; an open communication might be preserved between Wales and these new conquests; and half of the kingdom being thus united, might be employed in re-establishing the king's authority throughout the west. Besides, Massey,

sey, the governor of Gloucester, being a soldier of fortune, who, before he had engaged with the parliament, had offered his service to the king, it was presumed, would readily lend an ear to proposals for an accommodation.

Charles having therefore agreed to march against Gloucester, proceeded thither with six thousand foot, and a far greater number of horse, and summoned that city to surrender within two hours. But before the expiration of that time, the enemy sent to let him know, that they were determined to defend the city to the last extremity; and immediately set on fire the suburbs of their city, in which were many large and handsome buildings. The king's indignation at this disappointment made him pursue what he had undertaken. His resolution was confirmed by his being told, that the town was very ill provided with provisions and ammunition; and that its strongest defence was an old stone wall, too crazy to resist any force of battery; and notwithstanding the earnest solicitations of the queen, which he had never before resisted, he resolved to carry on the siege.

The citizens of London were struck with consternation at hearing of the siege of Gloucester. The rapid progress of the royalists seemed to threaten the parliament with immediate subjection. The factions and discontents in the city, and throughout the neighbouring counties, also threatened some dangerous insurrection. But those parliamentary leaders, who had so long exerted themselves in freeing the nation from arbitrary power, had not engaged

gaged in an enterpize that exceeded their abilities and courage. The two houses had devolved their power on a small committee, who had directed all their military operations, and had preserved a secrecy in deliberation, and a promptitude in execution, which the king had never been able to put in practice.

In the beginning of this summer, Edmund Waller, esteemed the first refiner of the English versification, was a member of the house of commons, and exerted himself in blaming those counsels, by which the commons were governed: but finding all opposition within doors to be fruitless, he endeavoured to form a party without. Tomkins, his brother-in-law, and Chaloner, the intimate friend of Tomkins, united with him, in endeavouring to form a combination between the lords and citizens. While this was in agitation, and they were making lists of such as they conceived to be well affected to their designs, a servant of Tomkins overhearing their discourse, gave intelligence to Pym; upon which Waller, Tomkins, and Chaloner, were seized; and being tried by a court-martial, were all three condemned, and the two latter executed, on gibbets, erected before their own doors. Upon this occasion, a covenant was formed as a test, which was taken by the lords and commons, and imposed on the army. The covenanters expressed their resolution to reform their lives, declared their abhorrence of the late conspiracy, and promised to assist both houses against the forces levied by the king.

No sooner was Waller imprisoned, than, sensible of his danger, all his courage deserted him; he confessed whatever he knew, without sparing his most intimate friends, and expressed such remorse of conscience, that his execution was deferred, till at length he prevailed so far as to have his life spared, on his paying a fine of ten thousand pounds.

By the progress of the king's arms, the defeat of Sir William Waller, the taking of Bristol, and the siege of Gloucester, a cry for peace was renewed; and crowds of women flocked about the house, and were so clamorous and importunate, that orders were given for dispersing them; and some of the females were killed in the fray. Bedford, Holland, and Conway had deserted the parliament, and gone over to the king, Clare and Lovely had followed them: Northumberland had retired into the country, and Essex shewing extreme dissatisfaction, exhorted the parliament to conclude a peace. The upper house sent down more moderate terms of accommodation than had hitherto been insisted on; and a majority of the commons agreed, that these proposals should be transmitted to the king. A petition was, however, framed in the city, against these terms of accommodation; and Pennington, the lord mayor, attended by a select number of the aldermen and common-council, presented it to the lords. Thus all thoughts of a pacification being dropped, preparations were immediately made for the relief of Gloucester.

In the mean while, Massey, governor of that city, had carried on the siege with the greatest conduct and courage. He retarded the advances of the king's army, and continual sallies gained advantages over them; he infested them in their trenches; and, by disputing every inch of ground, damped their courage, which had been raised by their former success. His garrison, however, was reduced to the last extremity; and he, from time to time, informed the parliament, that if he was not speedily relieved, he should be obliged, from the want of provisions and ammunition, to open his gates to the king.

The parliament, exerting themselves with the utmost vigour, voted that an army should be levied under Sir William Waller: having associated in their cause the counties of Essex, Hertford, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Suffolk, Norfolk and Lincoln, they made the earl of Manchester general of the association; and appointed an army to be raised under his command. They also put Essex's army in a condition to march against the king, and engaged the capital to send four regiments of its militia to the relief of Gloucester. Mean while, all shops in the city were ordered to be shut, and the event of that important enterprize was expected with the utmost anxiety.

Essex, with an army of fourteen thousand men, took the road of Bedford; and though inferior in cavalry, defended himself from the enemy's horse, who had advanced to meet him. On his approaching Gloucester, the king  
raised

raised the siege, and Essex entered that city, where he found the garrison reduced to the utmost necessity. Their whole stock of ammunition consisted of only one barrel of powder, and they were destitute of provisions. Essex brought with him military stores, and the neighbouring country furnished him with provisions of every kind, which the inhabitants had carefully concealed from the king's army, and reserved their stores for the cause they favoured.

The king's army being greatly superior in cavalry, Essex resolved to return if possible, without hazarding a battle. After lying five days at Tewkesbury, he seemed inclined to proceed to Worcester; but by a forced march in the night, he reached Cirencester, and surprized three hundred of the king's troops, his magazine, and a convoy of provisions, which lay in that town. He then, without delay, marched towards London; but on his reaching Newbury, was surprized to find that the king had, by hasty marches, arrived thither before him.

Every advantage was now on the side of the king, while the army under Essex, tired with long marches, had no other lodging than the field, and was obliged, at all hazards, to force their way through the enemy. Essex, on this occasion, displayed the skill of a good general, and performed the duty of an inferior officer. With a brigade of horse and his own regiment, he began the battle, and though his cavalry were several times broken by the king's, his



infantry maintaining themselves in firm array, continued a constant fire ; and as the horse, according to orders, retired between their ranks, they presented their pikes to the enemy's cavalry, and sheltered their own, while they rallied behind them. The militia of London, though unacquainted with action, and only formed of tradesmen and apprentices, equalled, upon this occasion, all the coolness and steadiness of the most veteran forces. The fight, carried on in this manner, continued in the utmost ardour, till night put an end to the action ; and after the loss of a thousand men on each side, left the victory undecided. The next morning Essex proceeded on his march ; and though his rear was once put into some disorder by the king's horse, he reached London in safety ; but was guilty of an unpardonable omission in leaving Reading to the possession of the king, who followed close at his heels, and who, by re-establishing a garrison in that town, streightened London and the parliament's quarters. In the above battle, which was fought on the twentieth of September, 1643, and lasted from six in the morning till night, the king lost, besides the earls of Sunderland and Carnarvon, Lucius Cary, viscount Falkland, a man of great abilities, and whom all his contemporaries agree, was distinguished by his virtue, his politeness, and amiable manners.

The conduct of Essex, in the relief of Gloucester, and his returning safe with the army, was considered, by all parties, as the best piece of generalship that had been performed in this war.

war. He was received in London with the utmost marks of respect and gratitude; and the brave defenders of Gloucester, were also honoured and rewarded. The governor received the thanks of both houses, and a thousand pounds; all the inferior officers received presents; and the private soldiers a month's pay, over and above the arrears due to them. The advanced season, however, now obliged the armies to retire into winter quarters.

During this summer, the earl of Newcastle, who was now created a marquis, raised a considerable force for the king, in the north; and there appeared, in opposition to him, two men, who began to distinguish themselves by their military conduct and valour: these were Sir Thomas Fairfax, the son of lord Fairfax, and Oliver Cromwell. The former obtained a considerable advantage at Wakefield, over a detachment of royalists, and took general Goring prisoner: the latter gained a victory at Gainsborough, over a party commanded by lord Cavendish, who was slain in the action.

But the royalists were compensated for these losses, by the total defeat of lord Fairfax, at Atherton-moor. After this victory, Newcastle laid siege to Hull, with an army of fifteen thousand men. Hotham was no longer governor; for he and his son had entered into a correspondence with Newcastle, and had been prevailed on to consent to deliver Hull into his hands; but this conspiracy being detected, they were arrested, and sent prisoners to London; where, without any regard to their former

mer services, they both of them fell victims to the severity of the parliament.

Newcastle, after having carried on for some time the attack of Hull, suffered so much from a sally of the garrison, that he thought proper to raise the siege. About the same time, Manchester being joined by Cromwell and young Fairfax, obtained a considerable victory over the royalists at Horn-castle. The king's party, however, still remained much superior to that of the parliament, in the north of England.

The leaders of the house of commons now moved that the Scots, according to the treaty subsisting between the two nations, might be called in to the assistance of the common cause; alledging, that a declaration from the Scots, of their affection and readiness to serve the parliament, would render the latter so formidable, as to oblige the king to consent to reasonable conditions; and this advice was too salutary to be rejected. The Scots had beheld, with the utmost impatience, a scene of action, in which they could not esteem themselves indifferent spectators. They imagined, that should the king be able, by force of arms, to prevail over the parliament of England, he would retract all the concessions they themselves had extorted from him by violence; and that his passion for prelacy and for religious ceremonies, would lead him to invade a church, which he had ever been taught to regard as antichristian. They considered who the different parties were that composed the factions  
thus

thus engaged in arms: that the court consisted of those who were zealous enemies to their religion, and the civil liberties they at present enjoyed: that, on the other hand, the parliament was composed of those very men who had opposed the war with Scotland, who had punished the authors of their oppressions, and who had not only secured to them the redress of every grievance, but had conferred on them an ample reward for their brotherly assistance. These were, in Scotland, the topics of every conversation, while the pulpits resounded with the curse of Meroz, Judges v. 23. *Curse ye Meroz, said the angel of the Lord; curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof: because they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the Mighty.*

Early in the spring of 1643, the Scots had sent the earl of Loudon, their chancellor, with other commissioners, attended by Henderson, a popular preacher, to the king at Oxford, to renew their offer of mediation, and to recommend to the king, the Scottish model of ecclesiastical worship and discipline. This was touching Charles in a very tender point, as he always thought that both his honour, his conscience, and his interest, bound him to support prelacy and the liturgy. He therefore desired the commissioners to be satisfied with the concessions which he had made to Scotland; told them, that they acted out of character, when they pretended to direct his conduct, and recommended to them, to preach humility and obedience to the people, that they might not be

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be transported with matters they did not understand, but be disposed to a grateful sense of their duty and affection to him. This answer, with his forbidding the commissioners to repair to London, though they had earnestly entreated his permission to do it, inflamed the jealousy of the Scots, who considered the king's high stile in the present uncertain state of his affairs, and his aversion to altering the episcopal government of the church of England, as certain indications of his retracting all his concessions to them, if he should prevail by force of arms over the English parliament.

According to the precedent which had passed in England, the Scots had obtained an act for triennial parliaments; and in June 1644, that assembly was to meet in Scotland; but the Scots thought that this would be too late a period to prepare against the threatened storm; and for this reason, they petitioned the king to call a parliament before the time appointed by law to meet: their request was refused, for the same reason for which it was solicited.

In order to maintain the confederacy between the two kingdoms, the office of conservators of the peace had been newly erected; and on the return of the commissioners to Edinburgh, with the king's refusal to all their demands, it was determined by the council, together with these conservators, that, on the 22d of June 1643, a convention should be summoned to meet; an assembly which, though it meets with less solemnity, has the same authority as a parliament, in raising money and levying forces,

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The general assembly of the church met at the same time with the convention.

At that time the English parliament was reduced to great distress, by the progress of the king's arms; and gladly sent commissioners to Edinburgh, with powers to treat of a nearer union and confederacy. The person chiefly employed in this important commission was Sir Henry Vane, the most consummate politician of that age; and by his persuasion, a new solemn league and covenant was framed between the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland; which abjuring indifference and neutrality, bound the subscribers mutually to defend each other against all opponents; to endeavour the extirpation of popery, prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, and profaneness; to maintain the rights and privileges of parliament, together with the king's person and authority; and to discover and bring to justice all incendiaries and malignants. The subscribers to the covenant also vowed to preserve the reformed religion, established in the church of Scotland; but by the artifice of Vane, no declaration more explicit was made with respect to England and Ireland, than that these kingdoms should be reformed according to the word of God, and the example of the purest churches.

The convention ordered this covenant to be unanimously taken, under the penalty of confiscation, besides what farther punishment it should please the ensuing parliament to inflict. In England it met with equal success, where it was unanimously taken by both houses, and afterward



terwards by the whole party. An hundred thousand pounds were borrowed of the city, and sent to Edinburgh, according to an agreement made with the Scots, who, after the first three months service, were also to be allowed thirty thousand pounds per month, while they were employed in the parliament's service.

The parliament of England having thus been induced, by their distresses, to seek assistance from the Presbyterians of Scotland, the king had recourse to the Papists in Ireland, where the rebellion still continued. In many encounters, the English, under lord More, Sir William St. Leger, Sir Frederick Hamilton, and others, had routed the Irish, and returned in triumph to Dublin. The rebels raised the siege of Drogheda, after the garrison had made an obstinate defence. Ormond had obtained two complete victories at Kilrush and Ross, and had brought relief to all the forts that were besieged in different parts of the kingdom. Yet the most common necessities of life were wanted by the victorious armies; for the Irish, in their rage against the British planters, had laid waste the whole kingdom; and even most of the inhabitants of Dublin had come to England, to escape starving there. By the interest and authority of Ormond, the justices and council of Ireland were fallen into an entire dependence on the king. Parsons, Temple, Loftus, and Meredith, who appeared to be of the opposite party, had been removed, and Charles had supplied their places, by others better affected to his service. In obedience to  
orders

orders transmitted from the king, a committee of the English house of commons, which had been sent over to Ireland, in order to conduct the affairs of that kingdom, had been excluded the council. This, with the great difficulty under which the parliament themselves laboured, rendered them unwilling to send supplies to an army which, though engaged in a cause much favoured by them, was commanded by their declared enemies.

Charles, in order to obtain supplies of men from that kingdom, sent orders to Ormond and the justices, to conclude, for a year, a cessation of hostilities with the council of Kilkenny, by whom the Irish Papists were governed, and to leave both sides in possession of their present advantages. Thus the Irish rebels, who, on all sides, had retreated before the English troops, obtained free liberty to enjoy, with impunity, the habitations and spoils of the exiled Protestants, to strengthen themselves by confederacies abroad, and to encrease their forces at home, while the Protestant inhabitants had full leisure to repine at their fruitless victories.

As, after the cessation of hostilities, there was little occasion for the army in Ireland, the king ordered Ormond, who was entirely devoted to him, to send over considerable bodies of troops to England: but some of them having imbibed, while in Ireland, a great resentment against the Catholics, soon after deserted to the parliament. At the same time, many Irish Papists being brought over also, joined the  
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royal army in England, where they continued to commit the same cruelties and disorders, to which they had been accustomed. This, some time after, induced the parliament to pass a vote, that no quarter should be given them in battle. But prince Rupert, by making some reprisals, soon put a stop to this.

Charles, in order to prepare for the ensuing campaign, summoned to Oxford all the members of each house, who adhered to his interest, and thus endeavoured to take advantage of the name of a parliament. His house of peers was pretty full; and besides the nobility employed in different parts of the kingdom, contained twice as many members as voted at Westminster: but his house of commons did not consist of above a hundred and forty, which did not exceed half of the other house of commons.

Among the other evils arising from these domestic wars, was the introduction of excise. The parliament at Westminster having voted an excise on wine, beer, and other commodities; that at Oxford imitated the example, and conferred that revenue on the king. The parliament at Westminster passed an ordinance, commanding all the inhabitants of London, and the neighbourhood, to retrench a meal a week, and to pay the value of it for the support of the public cause. On the other hand, the parliament at Oxford granted the king a hundred thousand pounds, to be raised by loans, and privy-seals were circulated, counter-signed by the speakers of both houses, requiring

quiring the loan of particular sums, from such persons as lived within his quarters.

But to proceed with the war. The forces brought from Ireland landed at Mostyne, in North Wales; and being placed under the command of lord Byron, besieged and took the castles of Lewarden, Beeston, Acton, and Deddington house; defeated a considerable body of the parliament's troops near Middlewich, and laid siege to Nantwich, the only place in Cheshire in the possession of the parliament. To prevent their farther progress, Sir Thomas Fairfax assembled 3000 men in Yorkshire; and joining Sir William Brereton, and the scattered troops which had been routed at Middlewich, advanced to Nantwich. Byron and his soldiers, elated with their victories, entertained such contempt for the parliamentary forces, that they continued the siege, without making any motion to receive the enemy, till, on the twenty-fifth of January 1644, Fairfax suddenly attacked their camp. The river being then swelled by a thaw, divided one part of the army from the other, and being unable to unite, that part attacked by Fairfax, on being beat from their post, retired into the church of Acton, and were all taken prisoners; while the other retreated with precipitation; thus was dispersed the forces drawn from Ireland.

In the mean time, the Scots having marched into England, summoned, in vain, the town of Newcastle; then passed the Tyne, and faced the marquis of Newcastle, who lay at Durham with an army of 14,000 men. That noble-

man, after having, by some military operations, reduced the enemy to difficulties, for want of forage and provisions, received intelligence that colonel Bellasis, whom he had left in Yorkshire with a considerable body of troops, was entirely routed at Selby, by Sir Thomas Fairfax, who had returned with his victorious forces from Cheshire. Newcastle, afraid of being inclosed between two armies, retreated; and the Scots having joined Fairfax, sat down before York, to which the army of the royalists had retired. But as the Scottish and parliamentary forces were not numerous enough to invest so large a town, divided by a river, they were satisfied with forming a loose blockade; and affairs there, for some time, remained in suspense.

Sir Ralph Hopton, who was now made a peer, endeavoured, with an army of 6000 men, to break into Suffex, Kent, and the southern association; but being met by Sir William Waller at Cherington-down, between Farnham and Winchester, received a considerable defeat.

As the king's army was greatly lessened by the defeat of lord Hopton, and as the parliament had nothing to fear from the royalists in the north, they directed their two generals, Essex and Waller, to march with their combined forces to Oxford; and either to fight the king, or if he shut himself up in that city, to lay siege to it; and thus, by one enterprize, put a period to the war. Charles hearing of the great preparations made by the parliament,

liament, drew his garrison out of Reading; demolished its fortifications; and with the addition of these troops, retired to his quarters at Oxford. The earl of Essex, after sending a party to take possession of Reading, advanced to Abingdon, which was immediately abandoned by the king's foot; and Waller advancing on the other side, Oxford became inclosed between the two armies. The king was now considered as a prisoner; but taking the advantage of a dark night, he passed between the two armies of the enemy; and, with his whole party of horse, and a small body of foot, escaped to Worcester. The parliament had directed the earl of Essex, that in case the king left Oxford, he should follow him with his army, and Waller march into the West; but Essex, notwithstanding these orders, left the pursuit of the king to Waller; and while the two generals were disputing on this subject, they suffered the king to get two full days march of them. Waller, in his pursuit of the enemy, took Sudley-castle, an house belonging to the lord Chandois, with two hundred and fifty prisoners. Mean while Charles, after refreshing his small army at Worcester, went to Bewdley; and amusing Waller with the expectation of his marching to Shrewsbury, where he might easily join prince Rupert, returned back to Oxford, leaving Waller, who had marched to Shrewsbury, two days journey behind him.

The king's situation was now so greatly changed, that after reinforcing his army from



the garrison of Oxford, he, in his turn, went in pursuit of Waller. The two armies met at Cropedy-bridge, near Banbury; but the Charwell ran between them. The next day the king decamped, and marched towards Daven-try. Waller ordered a considerable detachment to pass the bridge, with an intention of falling on the rear of the royalists, but was repulsed, routed, and pursued with considerable loss. His army, discouraged by this blow, melted away by desertion; and the king leaving them, marched westwards against Essex. That general, after having obliged prince Maurice to raise the siege of Lyme, finding no opposition, reduced Dorchester, Weymouth, Taunton, and Barnstaple: but the king, who had reinforced his army from all quarters, advancing against him with a superior army, Essex retreated into Cornwall, and informing the parliament of his danger, desired them to send an army, which might fall on the king's rear. General Middleton was ordered to execute that service, but came too late. Essex's army, cooped up in a narrow corner at Lestithiel, were deprived of all forage and provisions, and reduced to the last extremity. They were pressed by the king on one side; by prince Maurice on another; and by Sir Richard Granville on a third. Essex, with some of the principal officers, escaped in a boat to Plymouth: Balfour, with the horse, passed the king's outposts in a thick mist, and reached the garrisons of his own party; but the foot, under Skippon, were obliged to surrender their arms, artillery,

tillery, baggage, and ammunition, and were then dismissed.

The conduct of Charles from the time when he was surrounded by his enemies in Oxford, to the defeat of the earl of Essex, displayed as much military genius, as had been discovered during the whole course of the war; but while he was struggling with success against the superior power of his enemies, in the south and west, his affairs were ruined in the north. The earl of Manchester having taken Lincoln, and united his army to that of the earl of Leven, who commanded the Scots, and to that of lord Fairfax, York was closely besieged by their combined forces; and that city, though vigorously defended by the marquis of Newcastle, was reduced to extremity. The parliamentary generals flattered themselves, that their labours would soon be crowned with this important conquest; but they were suddenly alarmed by the approach of prince Rupert, who, having vigorously exerted himself in Lancashire and Cheshire, had assembled a considerable army; and joining Sir Charles Lucas, who commanded Newcastle's cavalry, hastened with an army of ten thousand men to the relief of York. The Scotch and parliamentary generals raised the siege, and drawing up their forces on Marston-Moor, proposed to give battle to the royalists. Prince Rupert having joined the marquis, the latter endeavoured to persuade him, that having so successfully effected his purpose of relieving York, he ought to be satisfied with that advantage: but the prince,

whose martial disposition was not sufficiently tempered with prudence, pretended positive orders from the king; and without condescending to consult with Newcastle, immediately issued orders for battle, and on the seventh of July \* drew up his army on Marston-Moor. The prince's army now consisted of fourteen thousand foot, and nine thousand horse; its main body was commanded by the generals, Goring, Porter, and Tellier; the prince headed the right wing, and Sir Charles Lucas, and colonel Hurry the left. The main body of the parliament army, which was, at least, equal to the prince's in number, was commanded by the earl of Manchester, the earl of Leven, and lord Fairfax; the right wing was headed by Sir Thomas Fairfax, and the left by Oliver Cromwell. The charge was begun with such courage and intrepidity by the left wing of the parliament's army, that prince Rupert, contrary to his usual fortune, was put to flight. Newcastle's regiment alone, resolute to conquer or perish, obstinately kept their ground. In the other wing, Sir Thomas Fairfax and colonel Lambert, broke through the royalists, and, transported with the ardour of pursuit, soon reached their victorious friends, who were also engaged in the pursuit of the enemy. After this tempest was past, Lucas, who commanded the royalists in this wing, reducing his broken forces to order, attacked the parliamentary cavalry, threw them into confusion, pushed them upon their own infantry, and routed the remainder of that wing.

But when ready to seize on their carriages and baggage, he perceived Cromwell returning from the pursuit of the other wing of the royalists; and both of them were surprized to find that they must again renew the combat, for that victory, which each of them imagined they had already obtained. The front of the battle was now changed, and each army possessed the ground which had been occupied by the enemy, at the beginning of the day. This second battle was equally furious with the first: but after both sides had exerted the utmost courage, the victory was obtained by the parliament's forces, the whole train of artillery taken, and the royalists driven out of the field, after 4000 of them were slain, and 1500 taken prisoners; while the loss on the side of the parliament is said to have amounted only to 300 common soldiers.

The loss of this battle was the most considerable blow which the king had sustained during the whole contest. Rupert, the next day, sent Newcastle word, that he was determined to march away with his army towards the king; and the marquis returned in answer to this, that he was resolved to retire from his command, and leave the kingdom. These intentions were executed with the same precipitation as they were formed. York being thus abandoned, was obliged to surrender in a few days. The Scots then marching northward, joined 10,000 additional forces, under the command of the earl of Calendar; and soon after took Newcastle by storm.

Charles,

Charles, notwithstanding the ruin of his affairs in the north, flattering himself that his victory in the west, with the encreasing dissensions among his enemies, would produce a revolution in his favour, published a proclamation, in which he declared his intention to advance with his army towards London; and required his subjects to prepare to join him in the places through which he should pass, with the best arms they could procure: but so trifling was the effect produced by this proclamation, that his army diminishing instead of increasing in his march, he was obliged to lay aside all thoughts of a triumphant entry into the capital. The parliament had again furnished the earl of Essex's foot with arms, and recruited his army not only by the forces commanded by Manchester and Cromwell; but by the forces under Waller and Middleton. The king, who had fortified himself at Newbury, was on the 27th of October attacked by these combined armies. Essex's soldiers exhorting each other to revenge the disgrace they had suffered at Lestithiel, made an impetuous assault on the royalists, and having recovered some of their cannon they had lost in Cornwall, embraced them with tears of joy. The king's troops defended themselves with valour, but were overpowered by numbers; however, the night came seasonably to their relief, and prevented their being entirely defeated.

Before the next morning, Charles leaving his baggage and cannon in Dennington castle near Newbery, retreated to Wallingford, and thence

thence to Oxford. Being there joined by prince Rupert and the earl of Northampton, with a considerable body of cavalry, he ventured to return back towards the enemy, now employed before Dennington castle. Essex, detained by sickness, had not joined the army since his misfortune in Cornwall; and Manchester, who commanded in chief, though his forces were much superior to those of the king, declined an engagement, notwithstanding the earnest solicitations of Cromwell; and even suffered the king, in the face of the army, to carry off his cannon and baggage from Dennington castle. After which, the forces on both sides put an end to the campaign of 1664, by entering into winter quarters.

This winter archbishop Laud was brought to the scaffold. The house of commons, engaged in enterprizes of greater importance, had for three years found no leisure to finish his impeachment. He was accused of high treason in endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws, and of other high crimes and misdemeanors. Prynne, the same lawyer who had been prosecuted by Laud, with such tyranny and cruelty, was a member in this parliament, and carried on the prosecution with great animosity and bitterness; and Laud now experienced from this exasperated sufferer, the same rigour with which he had treated others; the same unjust seizing of papers, not only to prove the facts of which he was already accused, but to frame others, and deprive him of the necessary materials for his defence. His behaviour through  
his



his tedious trial, which lasted twenty days, did great honour to his temper; and his answer was such, as gave a sufficient proof of his extraordinary abilities. He was sentenced to suffer death on the tenth of January, 1644-5, without any other favour, than to have one of his chaplains to attend him, in the company of two divines appointed by the commons, and to have his sentence altered from hanging and quartering into beheading. He prepared for death with great magnanimity; and on the scaffold made a long speech, or rather a sermon, to vindicate the king and himself from intending to introduce Popery into the established religion, and to persuade the people to submit to the ancient discipline of the church: after which, laying his head on the block, it was severed from his body at one blow. The arrogance of his conduct, and the tyranny with which he exerted his plenitude of power, has been already mentioned. It is sufficient here to say, that he then shewed himself utterly unacquainted with the simplicity, charity, and meekness of the gospel, and that he was entirely void of humility and forgiveness; nor had he any other rule to judge of mens deserts, but as they were more or less attached to the power of the church. Upon the whole, his character serves, as an eminent example, to shew, that extensive learning and abilities are not incompatible with a narrow judgment; and that in all the catalogue of human frailties, there are none which more corrupt the heart, or deprave the understanding, than the follies of

of mingled pride and superstition. It is farther to be observed of this prelate, that he is the only individual of that high office in the church of England, except Cranmer the martyr, who ever suffered death by the hands of the executioner.

On the same day, when the lords concurred with the commons in the attainder of the archbishop, they passed an ordinance, that the common prayer should be laid aside; and for establishing a directory of worship, framed by the assembly of divines, and confirmed by the votes of both houses.

While both parties were preparing for war, and vindicating their several claims by the sword, they did not fail to amuse the people with the expectation of a sudden peace. The king, in order to satisfy his own party, who were impatient for a peace, agreed to send the duke of Richmond and the earl of Southampton, with an answer to the proposals of the parliament, and with his consent to a treaty, upon their mutual demands and pretensions. It now became necessary for him to retract his having formerly declared, that the two houses at Westminster were not a parliament; and he was induced, though with reluctance, to give them, in his answer, the appellation of the parliament of England. But it afterwards appeared, by a letter which he wrote to the queen, a copy of which was taken at Naseby, that he secretly entered an explanatory protestation in his council-book, in which he pretended, that though he had *called* them the parliament,

liament, he had not *acknowledged* them for such. This subtlety occasioned his being again loaded with the imputation of insincerity; and made the parliament conclude, that they could repose no confidence in his professions and declarations, or even in the laws and statutes he had signed. The time and place of treaty being settled, sixteen commissioners from the king met at Uxbridge, with twelve authorized by the parliament, and the Scotch commissioners. It was determined, that the parliamentary and Scotch commissioners should give in their demands with respect to these three articles, religion, the militia, and Ireland; and that these should be successively discussed, in conferences with the king's commissioners. The parliament still insisted on the abolition of episcopacy, and the laws being put in execution against the Catholics. The king, on the full re-establishment of his prerogatives; and being wholly directed by the queen, who asserted, that neither the Catholics nor the bishops should be abandoned, the debates were carried on to no purpose; and the term assigned for the treaty at Uxbridge ended, without any thing being determined.

The contests among the parliamentary generals, which had disturbed their military operations, were, in the winter season, renewed in London; and each being supported by their own party, the parliament and city were agitated by their mutual reproaches and accusations. There had long prevailed a secret distinction, which now began to break forth with great animosity.

nimosity. The Independents, who had hitherto been concealed under the wings of the Presbyterians, now evidently appeared a distinct party, which had very different views and pretensions. The principles of the Presbyterians led them to reject the authority of prelates, to throw off the restraint of liturgies, to retrench ceremonies, to limit the riches and authority of their divines, and to be under no other church government but that of a synod, in conjunction with their own minister, a person chosen by themselves. The Presbyterians were no enemies to monarchy, though they strenuously insisted, that it should be under such regulations as would secure the civil and religious liberties of the people. The Independents would admit of no government among pastors; each congregation composed within itself a separate church, and exercised a jurisdiction, void of temporal sanctions, over its own pastor, and its own members. Their political system, not content with confining the power of the crown, and reducing the king to the rank of first magistrate, like the Presbyterians, then aspired to a total abolition of monarchy, and projected an entire equality of rank and order in a free and independent republic; and adhered to that maxim, that whoever draws the sword against his sovereign, should throw away the scabbard. Hence, by terrifying others with the fear of vengeance from the offended prince, they engaged greater numbers in an opposition to a peace, than had

adopted their other principles, with respect to religion and government.

Oliver Cromwell, Sir Henry Vane, Nathaniel Fiennes, and Oliver St. John, the solicitor-general, were considered as the leaders of the Independents, or Republicans. The commanders in chief had forbore to subdue the king entirely. Essex had discovered several instances of his insincerity: the public cause had suffered greatly from the jealousy which subsisted between him and Sir William Waller; and in the last battle of Newbury, the earl of Manchester, who, till then, had carried on the war with alacrity, was so remiss in his duty, that he was accused by Cromwell, his lieutenant-general, in the house of commons, of having wilfully neglected an opportunity of putting a final conclusion to the war, by a total defeat of the royalists. "I shewed him  
 " evidently, said Cromwell, how this success  
 " might be obtained; and only desired leave,  
 " with my own brigade of horse, to charge the  
 " king's army in their retreat; leaving it in  
 " the earl's choice, if he thought proper, to  
 " remain neuter with the rest of his forces:  
 " but notwithstanding my importunity, he positively and absolutely refused his consent;  
 " and gave no other reason, but that if we  
 " met with a defeat, there was an end of our  
 " pretensions: we should all be rebels and  
 " traitors, and be executed and forfeited by  
 " law?"

The Republicans taking advantage of this critical juncture, did not fail to spread abroad,  
 that

that in the hands of the members of parliament were lodged all the considerable commands of the army, and all the profitable offices in the civil administration; that while these individuals multiplied possession on possession, the people groaned under an unnecessary, yet insupportable, load of taxes; nor could they expect to get rid of their burthens, or to see an hopeful issue of the war, while their governors were permitted to enrich themselves by the calamities of the public. In short, such strong censures were cast on the conduct of the military commanders, that the Presbyterians, who made a large majority in the lower house, could not stand the attack; and a resolution passed the house of commons, that during the time of the war, no member of either house should have, or execute, any office or command, military or civil, conferred by both, or either, of the houses of parliament; with a proviso, that it should not extend to any lord-lieutenants, deputy-lieutenants, justices of peace, or commissioners of Oyer and Terminer, who were members of either of the houses. Indeed, the conduct of the military commanders had disgusted even many of the Presbyterians, who despaired of a secure issue to the war, and of seeing the king reduced to a condition, in which he would be necessitated to yield to their desires in ecclesiastical matters; besides, it would be dangerous to fix a censure on those who had served them speciously, yet not with the utmost integrity; a law therefore in which their generals were



necessarily involved, was a more popular and gracious manner of displacing them, than a more particular dismissal.

The lords refusing to pass the self-denying ordinance, another was sent up by the commons, describing a new model of the army, in which Sir Thomas Fairfax, who, for his military abilities, stood foremost in the opinion of the public, was, by the unanimous consent of all parties, appointed commander in chief of a military force, consisting of 21,000 men, with the dangerous privilege of nominating the officers under him, and the execution of martial law. The lords, after several fruitless conferences, at last acquiesced in the desired regulations; on which the earls of Essex, Denbigh, and Manchester, disgusted with the large authority vested in Sir Thomas Fairfax, surrendered their commissions; for which they received the thanks of the lords and commons.

Fairfax was equally distinguished by his courage and humanity; and in the course of his public conduct, seems never to have been seduced from strictly adhering to his principles, by ambition or private interest. Disinterested in his views, sincere in his professions, and open in his conduct, he would have formed one of the most shining characters of that age, had not the narrowness of his genius in every thing but war, and his confused elocution, rendered the part he acted but secondary and subordinate, even while he was invested with the supreme command.

Cromwell,

Cromwell, by whom Fairfax was entirely governed, is one of the most singular personages to be found in history. His extensive capacity enabled him to form the boldest projects; and his conduct and intrepidity furnished him with the means of executing them. While the generals of the army, imitating the stile of the parliament, at the very time when they led on their men to acts of hostility against the king, talked of the sacredness of his person, and puzzled the honest soldier with the senseless contradiction, the more ingenuous Cromwell, disdaining such useless hypocrisy, censured the inconsistent delicacy of the Presbyterians, as an embarrassment to the service; and publicly avowed, that tenderness was so far from being due to the king's person, that, as the prime author of the calamities of the times, he ought in justice to be one of the prime sufferers; and that therefore he should have less scruple to attack him in the field than any other man. The unexpected bold truths he uttered induced the parliament, in the ordinance which appointed Sir Thomas Fairfax commander in chief, not to mention the king's authority; nor insert any clause for the preservation of his person; and when the lords objected to the novelty, they urged, that such a clause must either suppose the king's coming at the head of an army to fight against the parliament, was to defend the true Protestant religion, and the liberty of the people; or to oppose these, which they knew he did; and in this case it would rather seem a mockery than a reality;

reality: that the king ought not to think the parliament obliged, by their covenant, to preserve his person, when he appeared at the head of an army against them; nor ought the soldier to forbear his duty by reason of his presence\*.

Fairfax immediately new modelled the army. New regiments and new companies were formed of the same men; different officers appointed; and the whole military force put into the hands of those on whom the Republicans could rely. The members of parliament were excluded, and many officers, unwilling to serve under the new generals, threw up their commissions. Though the discipline of the former parliamentary army was not contemptible, the new commanders introduced a more strict plan, which was rigorously executed, and the strictest regard to morals enjoined. Indeed, there never was a more singular army than that of the parliament, after these regulations had taken place. Most of the regiments had no chaplain; but the officers united the spiritual duty with their military functions, employing the intervals of action in sermons, prayers, and exhortations. Wherever they were quartered, they took possession of the pulpits, and conveyed their sentiments to the audience, with all the authority belonging to their power, their valour, and military exploits, united to the utmost zeal and fervour. The private soldiers, seized with the same spirit, employed their va-

\* Mrs. Macaulay,

tant hours in reading the Holy Scriptures, in conferences on the progress of their souls in grace, and in stimulating each other to farther advances in the great work of their salvation. When they were marching to battle, the field resounded with psalms and hymns adapted to the occasion, as well as with the instruments of military music\*.

The royalists, says Mr. Hume, were desirous of throwing a ridicule on this fanaticism of the parliamentary armies, without being sensible how much reason they had to apprehend its dangerous consequences. The forces assembled by the king were, at least, equal in number to their adversaries, but were actuated by a very different spirit. The licence introduced by want of pay, had risen to a great height, and rendered them more formidable to their friends than to their enemies. Prince Rupert had indulged the soldiers in unwarrantable licentiousness: Wilmot, a man of dissolute manners, had promoted the same spirit of disorder; and the licentious Goring, Gerrard, and Sir Richard Granville, now carried it to a great pitch of enormity. In the west, where Goring commanded, were committed universal spoil and havoc, and the whole country was laid waste by the rapine of the royalists. There all distinction of parties being in a manner dropped, the most devoted friends to monarchy wished, that the parliamentary forces might have such success, as to put an end to these op-

\* Dugdale, Rushworth.

pressions. The country people being despoiled of their substance in several places, flocked together, armed with clubs and staves; and tho' they professed an enmity to the soldiers of both parties, their hatred was, in most places, levelled against the royalists, from whom they met with the worst treatment, and destroyed those whom they found straggling behind the army.

In the spring of the year 1645, the disposition of the forces on each side was as follows: part of the Scotch army was employed in endeavouring to take Pomfret, and other towns in Yorkshire: part of it besieged Carlisle, which was bravely defended by Sir Thomas Glenham. Chester, where Byron commanded, had, for a long time, been blockaded by Sir William Brereton, and was reduced to great extremities. The princes Rupert and Maurice had joined the king at Oxford, who had now about 15,000 men. Fairfax and Cromwell, with the new modelled army, were posted at Windsor. Taunton, in Somersetshire, was defended by Blake, and had endured a long siege from colonel Windham for the king, with about 8000 men; and though the garrison had made a very brave defence, they were reduced to the last extremity. In the west, Goring commanded an army of nearly the same number.

On opening the campaign, Langhorn and Mitton, two active officers in the parliament's service, seizing Shrewsbury, broke the king's line of communication with Chester, and exposed, to the inroads of his enemies, all North Wales,

Wales, Hereford, and Worcester. Lord Goring, who was preparing to invade Suffex with 3000 horse and 1500 foot, was forced, by Sir William Waller, to retire to Salisbury, while Vandrusk, a German officer in the parliament's service, threw a reinforcement into Taunton. Goring, on his disappointment, received orders to join Sir Richard Granville, who lay with a strong party on the borders of Somersetshire, in order to reduce Taunton, Weymouth, Melcomb, and other parts in the possession of the parliament, and thus to secure all Somersetshire, and to open a passage into Devonshire and Cornwall. To prevent the execution of this plan, Sir Thomas Fairfax was directed, by the committee of both kingdoms, appointed for the management of the war, to march with his forces to the west; but on the intelligence, that the king was preparing to put himself at the head of an army, he received counter orders to march back, and defend the midland counties. He obeyed, after sending colonel Weldon with 3000 foot and 1500 horse towards Taunton.

On the seventh of May the king, with the princes Rupert and Maurice, took the field, in order to relieve Chester; but having marched into Staffordshire, they received an account, that the siege of Chetter was raised, and the city of Oxford closely besieged by Fairfax. This induced Charles to lay aside his design; and, in order to divert the parliament's forces, he took Leicester by storm. The soldiers entering sword in hand, the town was sacked,  
and



and the inhabitants, without distinction of friends or foes, plundered by the licentious army; and, according to Whitlocke, the king's forces killed many who asked for quarter, and put several women to the sword.

The parliament, on hearing of the loss of Leicester, directed Fairfax to raise the siege of Oxford, and attend the motions of the king; who, on the news that his garrison at Oxford was in distress, had set forward to relieve it; and at Harborough, receiving an account that Fairfax had left Oxford, and had been repulsed with great loss, in an assault on Borsstal-house in Buckinghamshire, he was encouraged to seek the enemy, without waiting till he was joined by 2000 foot, which he expected from Wales, under the command of colonel Gerard, and by 3000 horse from the west, commanded by colonel Goring. A detachment of Fairfax's army falling into the king's quarters, before he was aware of his approach, it was resolved, in a council of war, to hazard a battle without delay; and a scout-master asserting, that he could neither see nor hear any thing of the enemy, prince Rupert imagined, that they retired through fear; and instantly drew out a party of horse and musqueteers, both to discover and engage them. Filled with the idea, that the parliament's army was flying before him, he, on their first appearance, proceeded forward, sending back word for the king to follow him with the utmost speed. The king complied; and quitting a judicious order of battle, and a favourable ground, advanced up hill

hill to the enemy, who observing his motions, had leisure to form themselves to advantage.

The main body of the parliament's army was commanded by Sir Thomas Fairfax and major general Skippon; the right wing by lieutenant-general Cromwell; the left, by Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law; and the reserves were brought up by Rainborough, Hammond, and Pride. The king and lord Astley led up the main body of the royalists; prince Rupert commanded the right wing, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale the left. Prince Rupert, with his usual alacrity, began the attack on the left wing with such success, that he put them to flight, and chased them to the village of Naseby; though Ireton behaved with such intrepidity, that after he was run through the thigh, and wounded in the face, he maintained the combat till he was taken prisoner; but Rupert was so inconsiderate as to lose time in attacking the parliament's artillery, which had been left with a good guard of infantry.\* The king, with lord Astley, led on the main body, and displayed, on this occasion, all the conduct of a prudent general. They were encountered by Fairfax and Skippon, who bravely supported the reputation they had acquired. Skippon being dangerously wounded, Fairfax entreated him to leave the field; but he protested he would not stir while one man maintained his ground: the general himself had his helmet beat off, and rode up and down the field bare-headed, and refused to be covered till the fate of the day was determined; and on his infantry

try being broken, he, with great presence of mind, brought up the reserve and renewed the combat. Mean while, Cromwell leading on his troops to the attack of the left wing, put it to flight, and instantly improved by his prudence, the advantage he had gained by his valour. Having left a party of horse to make head against the enemy, in case they should rally, he pursued them about a quarter of a mile, and then returned with speed to the field of battle; where, finding the main body of the parliament's army, closely pressed by the royalists, he charged the king's infantry in flank, and threw them into the utmost confusion. One regiment alone preserved its order unbroken, though twice attacked by Fairfax; and that general observing their steady resistance, ordered Doyley, the captain of his life-guard, to charge them a third time in front, while he himself attacked them in the rear. This regiment was at length broken. Fairfax, with his own hands, killed an ensign, and having seized the colours, gave them to a soldier to keep for him. This soldier afterwards bragging that he had won this spoil, was reproved by Doyley, who had seen the action: but Fairfax cried, "Let him retain that honour, I have to-day acquired enough beside." Prince Rupert being too late sensible of his error, left the fruitless attack of the enemy's artillery, and joined the king, who would now have persuaded his cavalry, to rally and renew the charge; but they could by no means be induced to do it;

it; on which Charles was obliged to quit the field.

In this battle, the king lost his whole train of artillery, all his baggage, 5000 prisoners, and 700 men slain, among whom were 150 officers. On the parliament's side were slain 1000 men. So important a victory obtained by an army which chiefly consisted of new raised troops, and whose officers, a very few excepted, had never been entrusted with any principal command, astonished both friends and foes, and gave almost as much mortification to the discarded chiefs of the army, who had flattered themselves with the hopes of being courted to resume their offices, as to the vanquished enemy. Among the other spoils were seized the king's cabinet, with the copies of his letters to the queen, which the parliament afterwards ordered to be published. They expressed his extreme fondness for her, and often repeat his resolution, never to embrace any measures which she did not approve. Soon after a cabinet, containing papers of Lord Digby, the king's secretary of state, being found, were sent up to the parliament. These produced more important discoveries, and shewed, that, contrary to the king's positive declarations, he had solicited supplies of men and money from Rome, Venice, France, Denmark, and the duke of Lorrain. These papers were all published by the parliament, under the title of *Lord Digby's Cabinet*, with the following observation: that the king and pope were to defend the Protestant religion; Denmark

and Lorrain to maintain laws and liberties; and bloody Irish rebels to uphold the privileges of parliament in England.

The arms of the parliament were now attended with rapid conquests. Leicester was immediately surrendered to Sir Thomas Fairfax, on no other terms but quarter for the governor and garrison. That victorious general now lost no time in marching to the west, to which Charles had sent the prince of Wales, who was fifteen years of age, with the title of general, ordering him, in case he should be pressed by the enemy, to leave the kingdom. This was the only part where the king had any appearance of an army; but by the ravages and barbarities committed by his troops, and the ill conduct of his officers, it was become ripe for an easy conquest. Taunton, which had resisted with inflexible resolution, a long siege, was, on Fairfax's advancing to its relief, left by Goring, who retired with his army to Lamport, from whence they were driven, with the loss of 1000 men, and obliged to retire to Bridgewater. The last mentioned town was deemed an impregnable fortress; and the royalists had laid up in it their treasure and most valuable effects; but to the terror and disappointment of the party, on the first attack it was surrendered by Windham, the governor, on terms of no greater advantage than quarter to the garrison, which, to the number of 2600 men, were made prisoners of war.

Fairfax having afterwards taken Bath and Sherborne, prepared to besiege Bristol, which prince

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**THOMAS  
LORD FAIRFAX.**

prince Rupert, the governor, had supplied with a considerable garrison: but to the surprise of all parties, no sooner had the parliamentary forces entered the lines by storm, than the prince capitulated, and surrendered the city to Fairfax; though, a few days before, he had written a letter to the king, in which he undertook to defend the place during four months, if no mutiny obliged him to surrender it. Charles was so enraged at this unexpected event, that he recalled all prince Rupert's commissions, and sent him a pass to go beyond sea.

After the surrender of Bristol, Fairfax and Cromwell divided their forces, the former marching westward, in order to complete the conquest of Devonshire and Cornwall, while the latter attacked the king's garrisons to the east of Bristol. The Devizes surrendered to Cromwell; Berkeley castle was taken by storm; Winchester capitulated; Basing-house was entered sword in sword, and in a short time all the middle counties in England were reduced *hand* under the obedience of the parliament.

Fairfax was attended with the same rapid success. After beating up the quarters of the royalists at Bovey-Tracy, he sat down before Dartmouth, and in a few days entered it by storm. Having taken Pondram-castle, and blockaded Exeter on all sides, Hopton, who now commanded the royalists, advanced with an army of 8000 men to its relief; but being met by the parliamentary army at Torrington, was defeated; all his infantry dispersed, and he himself, with his cavalry, obliged to retire

into Cornwall. Fairfax following him, inclosed the royalists at Truro, and forced the whole army, consisting of 5000 men, chiefly cavalry, to surrender upon terms. The soldiers, on delivering up their horses and arms, were allowed to disband, and received twenty shillings each, to pay their expences home. The officers, who desired it, had passes to retire beyond sea: while others having promised never more to bear arms, paid compositions to the parliament, and obtained their pardon. Fairfax, after taking Exeter, which completed the conquest of the west, marched with his victorious army, and fixed his camp at Newbury; upon which the prince of Wales, in pursuance of the king's orders, retired to Scilly, and thence to Jersey; whence he went to Paris, where he joined the queen, who had fled thither from Exeter, when the earl of Exeter conducted the parliament army to the westward.

In other parts of England, Hereford was taken by surprize: Chester was obliged to surrender: lord Digby, who had attempted, with 1200 horse, to break into Scotland, and join Montrose, who, with a body of Irish and Scotch troops, had obtained many victories over the covenanters in Scotland, was defeated by colonel Copley, at Sherborne, in Yorkshire, his whole force dispersed, and he himself obliged to fly first to the Isle of Man, and thence to Ireland. Montrose himself was at last routed. After all these repeated disasters of the royal party, there remained only one body of troops, commanded by lord Astley, which consisted of

3000 men, chiefly cavalry. With these that nobleman marched towards Oxford, in order to join the king; but being met at Stowe by colonel Morgan, was entirely defeated, and himself taken prisoner.

On the other hand, the king, after the battle of Naseby, had retreated with that body of horse, which remained entire, first to Hereford, then to Abergavenny, and staid some time in Wales. The Scots having taken Carlisle after an obstinate siege, invested Hereford; upon which the king marched to its relief; and on his approach, they raised the siege. This was the last success which attended his arms: for having marched to the relief of Chester, now besieged by the parliamentary forces under colonel Jones, Pointz coming to the relief of the besiegers with 3000 horse and dragoons, attacked his rear, and forced him to give battle. The engagement was continued with great resolution, and the victory seemed to incline to the royalists, till Jones, advancing with the besiegers, fell upon them on the other side, routed them, and pursued them to the walls of Chester; where the battle becoming more general, that body of horse which had attended the king from the defeat of Naseby, was entirely broken and dispersed. After which Charles fled, with a few troops, to Newark, and thence escaped to Oxford, where he shut himself up during the winter season.

Ireland afforded a very different scene from that which was now exhibited in England. No sooner had the king withdrawn his forces

from that kingdom, than the Papists perfidiously broke almost every article of the cessation. Acts of hostility were committed on the castles and forts in the possession of the Protestants: their houses and their cattle were seized; great sums were extorted from them for licence to pass through their quarters; and a prohibition was published to all their party, not to sell them any provisions. Mean while a treaty of peace was carried on at the court of Oxford between the king and the Irish Papists, and Charles gave lord Herbert, a zealous Papist, who had been created earl of Glamorgan, a warrant under the royal signet, to the following purpose: that his majesty did as firmly, and to all intents and purposes, as if the commission had passed the great seal, give him power to treat and conclude with the confederate Roman Catholics of his kingdom of Ireland, on terms in which his lieutenant could not so well be seen, and not fit for his majesty at present to own. The commissioner was charged to proceed according to his warrant, with all possible secrecy; and for whatsoever he should engage himself, upon such valuable considerations as he should think fit, his majesty promised, upon the word of a king and a Christian, to ratify and perform\*.

Accordingly, on the twenty-fifth of August 1645, a secret treaty was concluded between the earl of Glamorgan, on the king's part,

\* King Charles's transactions with the earl of Glamorgan, by Dr. Birch,

and commissioners on the part of the confederates; by which the Catholics were to enjoy the public exercise of their religion; and all the churches of which they had obtained the possession since the twenty-third of October 1641; they were rendered capable of all offices of trust and advancement, places, degrees, dignities, and preferments whatsoever in Ireland: they were to be freed by act of parliament from all the penalties and pains of the penal laws: they were to be exempted from the jurisdiction of the Protestant clergy; while their own clergy were to enjoy the tythes, glebes, and church-revenues in their possession; and to exercise their jurisdiction without controul. In consideration of these concessions, the Papists were to send 10,000 men into England, under the command of Glamorgan, who were to be kept together in one entire body, under officers named by the general assembly of the confederate Papists. This whole transaction was discovered by accident, when on the point of conclusion, in an attempt which the rebels had made on the town of Sligo, the titular archbishop of Tuam was killed by a sally of the garrison, and a copy of the treaty being found among his baggage, it was immediately transmitted to the English parliament. The whole transaction becoming thus public both in England and Ireland, the lord-lieutenant and council, in order to vindicate the king's honour, charged Glamorgan with a suspicion of high treason, and immediately committed him; but the next day he was enlarged from



from close confinement, and soon after committed to bail\*.

Popery in Ireland was in too prosperous a situation, not to engage the attention of the court of Rome. John Baptista Rinnucini, archbishop of Fermo, arrived in Ireland, immediately after the conclusion of the above treaty, in the character of the Pope's nuncio, to assist the councils of the confederates; and, upon this occasion, Charles addressed one flattering letter to the pope, and another to the nuncio. The supreme council of the confederate Catholics represented to the nuncio, that the king could not, consistently either with his or their safety, avow and publish, in their full extent, the concessions he had granted. To this he replied, that the instructions he had received from the pope were, that he should take care that the Irish should maintain an inviolable fidelity, in the first place to God and religion,

\* The king, in a declaration to the parliament, solemnly protested, that till he heard that the earl of Glamorgan was arrested, he never heard, or had any notice, that he had entered into any kind of treaty with those Irish commissioners. Yet in a letter to that earl, on his being arrested, he thus writes, "I have commanded as much favour to be shewn you as may possibly stand with my service or safety; and if you will yet trust my advice, which I have commanded Digby to give you freely, I will bring you so off, that you may be still useful to me, and I shall be able to recompence you for your affection, &c." *Dr. Birch, p. 118. State Papers by Carte.*

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and in the second to their king; and that the treaty should be immediately published, to prevent any scandal being given to all Catholics. He likewise insisted upon the necessity of having a Popish lord-lieutenant, and complained, that no mention was made of Popish bishops, nor the erecting Popish universities. He warmly exhorted them to give up the peace they had concluded with Glamorgan, and to adopt a treaty which comprehended the interests of the whole Catholic body in Great Britain, which had, in a manner, been agreed on at Rome, between the pope and Sir Kenelm Digby, which was so highly approved by the Roman pontiff, that he offered immediately to advance 100,000 crowns, and to allow the king the same sum annually, while the war lasted. The earl of Glamorgan, to hasten the impatiently expected supplies, signed an instrument, by which he ratified the articles demanded by the pope; undertook that it should be confirmed by the king; and a convention was signed between the nuncio and the deputies of the general assembly, by which it was stipulated, to continue the cessation for three months, in expectation of the original of the pope's treaty, to be ratified between the nuncio and the lord Herbert; on the other hand, the rebels engaged, on the twenty-eighth of March 1646, to transport, between the first of April and the first of May, 10,000 infantry into England or Wales, well armed and provided. This scandalous peace had been so long protracted by the intrigues of the nuncio, and the cautious conduct

conduct of the confederates, that on its conclusion, Charles had not the appearance of an army left in England; a circumstance, which afforded the rebels an excuse for not performing their part of the stipulated conditions. Thus the magnificent promises they had made of supporting the king's power over all the empire of Great Britain, were reduced to the preservation of Ireland alone; an undertaking which, in the execution, they were unable to accomplish.

The king's situation during the whole winter was extremely melancholy: but notwithstanding the low state of his fortunes, his friends in London flattered him with the hopes, that the dissensions between the factions in the parliament and city, would, upon a renewal of a treaty, produce a resolution in his favour; and that, could he treat in person with the two houses, the friends of arbitrary monarchy would strike in with his terms, and defeat the projects both of the republicans and the sticklers for civil and religious liberty. Upon these representations, the king sent three messages to demand a safe conduct for his commissioners to carry proposals of peace; and by a fourth, offered, on the engagement of the two houses at Westminster, the commissioners of the parliament of Scotland, the mayor, aldermen, common-council and militia of London, and the chief commanders of the English and Scotch armies, for his free coming to, and abode in London, for the space of forty days, to treat in person with the two houses of parliament,

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upon every thing conducive to the restoring peace and happiness to his kingdoms. The whole party in opposition were, for many reasons, averse to these proposals; and therefore to the three first messages they answered, that finding former treaties had proved dilatory and unsuccessful, they could not consent to allow his commissioners a safe conduct; but having under their consideration proposals for settling a safe and well-grounded peace, they resolved, after a mutual agreement with both kingdoms, to present them with all speed to his majesty. And to the fourth message, in which the king insisted on a personal treaty, they replied, among other things, that they could not apprehend it to be a means conducive to peace, that his majesty should come to his parliament for a few days with any thoughts of leaving it, especially with an intention of returning to hostilities against it; and that his majesty had made no mention of religion or of Scotland.

Though the king, in his solicitations, made greater concessions than he had hitherto done; yet, as every day produced some fresh proof of his insincerity and ill intentions; as his double-dealing, in regard to the Irish rebels, was just discovered; as he could not forbear, even in his solicitations for a personal treaty, to upbraid the parliament with rebellion and disloyalty; as his anti-parliament at Oxford had been again assembled, and passed the following irritating votes, that the commissioners of the great seal, the judges and pleaders at Westminster, were guilty of high treason, and the  
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feal to be void : that the directory established by the parliament should not be used in divine service ; but the common prayer to be used as by law established ; and as the cavaliers began to be very busy in caballing with the different factions, into which the opposition was divided ; the parliament took every possible measure to prevent the king's coming by surprize.

The king's hopes of obtaining influence in the parliament being thus frustrated, he turned his thoughts towards a reconciliation with the Scots ; to which he was encouraged by a difference which had arisen between the two nations ; and Montreville, an agent from the French court, was sent into England, to negotiate a treaty between the king and the Scots : but, contrary to the king's expectations, the Scotch commissioners insisted on the establishment of the Presbyterian government in England as well as in Scotland. However, on Montreville's going to the Scotch army, he obtained leave to assure the king, that he might safely repair to them, upon the terms he had proposed ; and that they would send a body of horse to meet his majesty at any place he should appoint. Yet, a few days after, Montreville found the Scots in such a different temper, as to advise the king not to repair to their army, if he had any other place of refuge. But the king hearing, that Sir Thomas Fairfax was preparing to reduce Oxford, suddenly took the desperate resolution of throwing himself into the arms of the Scots. That he might the better conceal his intentions, orders were given

at every gate in Oxford, for allowing three persons to pass; and in the night, accompanied by no other persons but Dr. Hudson and Mr. Ashburnham, he went out at that gate which leads to London, in the disguise of Ashburnham's servant, carrying a portmanteau behind him. He passed through Henley and St. Albans, and came so near London as Harrow on the Hill. He is even said to have entertained thoughts of entering the city: but afterwards, passing through many cross roads, he arrived, on the fifth of May 1646, at the Scotch camp before Newark. After the king's flight, the duke of Richmond, the earl of Southampton, the earl of Lindesey, and other heads of his party, submitted to the parliament, and were sent prisoners to Warwick castle.

The Scotch generals and commissioners appeared greatly surprized at the king's appearance, but paid him all the outward marks of respect due to his dignity; and, under the colour of protecting him, instantly gave him a guard, by which he was, in reality, a prisoner.

The English parliament no sooner heard of the king's flight, than they published a declaration, that whoever should harbour or conceal him, or know of his being harboured or concealed, and not reveal it to the speakers of both houses, should be proceeded against as a traitor to the commonwealth. On their receiving intelligence, that he had taken refuge in the Scotch camp, the Independents proposed, that Fairfax should march northward, to demand the person of the king at the head of his



troops, which so alarmed the Scots, that they prevailed on his majesty, to order the governor of Newark to surrender the town into the hands of the parliament's commissioners; then disclaiming all manner of previous treaty with the king, and promising to take the advice of the English parliament in all their measures, they retreated with their royal guest to the town of Newcastle. This measure was very agreeable to the king, who began to entertain hopes, that the Scots would lend him their assistance, in obliging the parliament to consent to a peace; but he soon found, that he had little reason to be pleased with his situation, he being narrowly guarded, and all his friends kept at a distance, while the Scotch generals treated him with a cold reserve and punctilious ceremony. On the eighteenth of May he sent a message to the two houses, in which he assured them, that his withdrawing to the Scotch camp was only to secure his person, and with no intention to continue the war. He recommended the speedy settling of religion, by the advice of the assembly of divines; offered, that the two houses should, during the space of seven years, name all the commissioners for the militia; and that after the expiration of that term, it should be regulated by the crown and both houses of parliament: the like was offered for Scotland; and his majesty promised to give the parliament all possible satisfaction with respect to the wars in Ireland.

As no notice was taken of this message, it was followed by another, in which the king earnestly

earnestly expressed his desire, that they would speedily send him their proposals of peace; and at the same time inclosed an order for the surrendering those garrisons which yet stood out against the arms of the parliament. The terms given to most of them were honourable; and Fairfax was very exact in observing them. Far from allowing violence, he would not permit the unfortunate royalists to be insulted. Thus so cruel a civil war was ended with the greatest calmness. Ormond having received the like orders, delivered Dublin, and other forts in Ireland, into the hands of the parliamentary officers. The last person in England, who submitted to the authority of the parliament, was the marquis of Worcester, who was above eighty-four years of age, and defended Ragland castle to the last extremity. Four years, wanting a few days, were now elapsed since Charles first erected his standard at Nottingham.

All the king's hopes were now centured on the dissensions which arose between the Presbyterians and Independents, whose religious and civil disputes agitated the whole nation. Tho' the parliament had, for some time, abolished episcopal authority, they had not substituted any other spiritual government in its place; and the whole ecclesiastical jurisdiction had hitherto been exerted by their committees of religion. But they now published an ordinance, by which they established the Presbyterian model. The inhabitants of every parish were ordered to meet and chuse elders, who, with the minister, were to have the entire direction of

all spiritual concerns, within the congregation. A number of neighbouring parishes, usually between twelve and twenty, formed a classis; and the court which governed the whole was composed of all the ministers, with two, three, or four elders, chosen by each parish. The provincial assembly had the inspection of several neighbouring classes, and was entirely composed of clergymen: the national assembly was formed in the same manner, and its authority extended over the whole kingdom\*.

The doctrine of toleration owed its origin to the Independents, whose declared aversion to ecclesiastical tyranny, was too opposite to the bigotry of the Presbyterians of that age, not to be productive of warm contests and animosities. While the Presbyterians maintained, that toleration was allowing an indulgence for the murder of souls, and menaced all their opponents with the same rigid persecution which they themselves had suffered, and of which they had so loudly and so justly complained, the Independents, from the dictates of reason, and

\* This manner of church government has grown out of use among the Presbyterians of England, and each church or meeting of theirs is now as independent as those of the Independents themselves. The principal difference between them at present consists, in the former maintaining the doctrine of universal redemption, and receiving the sacrament of the Lord's supper at noon; while the Independents are Calvinists, receive the sacrament at the conclusion of the afternoon service, and are more rigid in admitting communicants.

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the authority of the Gospel, maintained, that every man had an equal right to private judgment, and that no man's conscience was subject to another; that the doctrine of intolercancy would equally justify all religious persecutions, Pagans against Christians, Papists against Protestants, with that which had been so lately endured from the power of the episcopacy; and that the Presbyterians, by preaching up obedience in spiritual concerns to establish powers, passed a self-condemnation on their own opposition to former tyrannies\*. The whole Scotch nation being of the same opinion as the Presbyterians, united with them, while every other sect joined the Independents, who, from the natural connection between civil and religious liberty, were joined by the whole body of the Republicans.

The assembly of divines had voted the divine right of Presbytery; but the Independents, assisted by the reasonings of Selden, Whitlock, and other able reasoners, so far prevailed in the house of commons, that the parliament refused their assent to this opinion: excommunication, a power, at that time, assumed by priests of all religions, was limited by an ordinance, which determined the cases in which it should be used. Appeals to parliament were allowed from all ecclesiastical courts, and provincial commissioners were appointed to judge

\* The English Presbyterians are now as strenuous friends to religious and civil liberty, as the Independents were in the reign of Charles I.

of such cases as fell not within their general ordinance. This gave great offence to the Presbyterians; and the assembly of divines sent up a petition on this subject to the commons; but they were so far from receiving satisfaction, that the house voted their petition a breach of privilege, and maintained, that the assembly of divines had no right to vote or judge on any point, either as to the doctrine, worship, or government of the church, but as they were authorized by parliament.

Severely as Charles had suffered from his duplicity, his counsels still fluctuated with every flattering appearance, which accident or the interest of faction presented: at one time, big with the expectation of foreign assistance, he talked in a high strain to all parties; at another, meditating an escape, in which he was disappointed by the negligence or treachery of his own servants, he appeared indifferent to all propositions: now dispirited with disappointment, he strove to compound with the Scots for a toleration of episcopacy; and to join heartily with the Presbyterians, in the persecution of all other sects; then cajoled by the Independents, he retracted all his concessions, in favour of Presbytery.

The disputes between the two kingdoms, which had arisen on the king's taking refuge in the Scotch camp, was carried on for some time; the English parliament maintained, that the king being in England, was comprehended within the jurisdiction of that kingdom, and could not be disposed of by a foreign nation;

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and the Scots, though they protested against giving Charles a refuge in Scotland, as inconsistent with the peace of the country, yet as he was king of Scotland, they pretended to an equal vote with the English parliament, in the disposal of his person in England. A pretension that could only be advanced to keep the king as a pledge for the arrears they claimed from England, and which they were now not likely to obtain by any other expedient. The sum, by their account, amounted to near two millions; but after much altercation, it was at length agreed, that they should accept of 400,000 l. in lieu of all demands, half to be paid at present, and the other half within a twelvemonth.

Though it was evident, that the English would not have parted with so considerable a sum, had they not been previously assured, that the Scots would deliver up the king; yet the latter pretended, to make the estimation and payment of arrears, appear a quite different transaction from that of the delivery of the king's person. The Scots parliament once voted that the king should be protected, and his liberty insisted on: but the general assembly interposed, and pronounced, that as he had refused to take the covenant, it did not become them to concern themselves about his fortunes; and the former resolution was retracted.

When intelligence was brought to the king, of the final resolution of the Scots, to surrender him, he was playing at chess, and had such command of his temper, that after reading the letter,



letter, none of the by-standers could perceive that it brought him news of any consequence. Some days after, the English commissioners, who came to take him under their custody, were admitted to kiss his hand; and he received them with the same chearfulness, as if they had only come to pay their court to him. On the thirteenth of January 1647, the parliament's commissioners received the king, and conducted him under a strong guard to Holdenby, in Northamptonshire, and on the same day the Scotch army set forward on their return to Scotland. On the king's journey, the whole country, moved partly by curiosity, and partly by compassion and affection, flocked to behold him.

The king's confinement was rendered, by the commissioners, very rigorous. His ancient servants were dismissed, and all communication was cut off between him and his friends. The parliament, though earnestly applied to by the king, refused to allow him the attendance of his chaplain; and the king refused to assist at the service performed according to the directory, because he had not yet given his consent to that form of worship. So greatly did religious zeal prevail on both sides!

Though mutual animosities had subsisted between the Presbyterians and Independents ever since the latter formed themselves into a distinct party, they had hitherto acted with seeming cordiality and equal vigour, against the common enemy; but they had no sooner gained a complete victory over all the royalists, than these animosities broke out with great violence.

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The self-denying ordinance was, from its first commencement, violated in favour of several popular officers, among whom was Cromwell; and when their intentions were answered, by displacing the Presbyterians from the superior force of the army, they had such interest as to get it entirely laid aside: yet the Presbyterians still maintained their superiority in the lower house, and began now to talk of diminishing the army; and thus, under the pretence of easing the public burdens, to level a deadly blow at the opposite party. They proposed to embark a strong detachment under Skippon and Massey, for the service of Ireland; and openly declared their intention of making a great reduction in the remainder, without allowing them their pay. The lower house being informed, that these gallant troops had prepared a modest petition to their general, to lay their hardships before the parliament, they passed a vote, that the petition tended to introduce mutiny, to put conditions upon the parliament, and to obstruct the relief of Ireland. The general, by the command of the commons, published at the head of each regiment, a declaration to this purpose; and this produced an universal murmur; the soldiers observing that, after they had fought for, and secured the liberties of their country, they were themselves deprived of the privileges of Englishmen.

The parliament had flattered themselves, that the discontent among the troops proceeded only from a few individuals, and would soon be over; but on finding it to be general, they appointed

pointed commissioners to endeavour to appease them, and to make them proposals for entering into the service of Ireland. Upon this the officers of the army appointed lieutenant-general Hammond, the colonels, Lambert, Rich, Lilburn, and Hewson, to represent their grievances to the commissioners: and they, in the name of the whole body, demanded what satisfaction they were to receive on the articles of arrears, indemnity, and maintenance in Ireland; and when it was replied, that the parliament had taken care of all these, except the article of indemnity, for which an ordinance would be ready in a few days, it was farther asked, Who were the generals the parliament had nominated to command them? On being informed, that Skippon and Massey were appointed their commanders, it was proposed, that the troops might be indulged with having all their general officers. Upon which the assembly cried out, "All, all:" And others, "Fairfax and Cromwell, and we all go." This did not answer the parliament's intention of breaking and disuniting the Independent interest, the commissioners, therefore, finding they could make no impression on the army, when assembled, declared that such officers as would engage for the Irish service, should receive farther satisfaction, on their repairing to their lodgings. This was considered as a design to divide and weaken the army; and the parliament had the mortification to find, that not above a dozen officers had accepted their conditions.

As the parliament had treated the general  
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discontent of the army as a seditious combination of their officers, which the common soldiers had been, in a manner, forced to subscribe, a vindication was presented in their behalf, in which they exculpated themselves, and asserted their right of petitioning. The private men of eight regiments of horse, also sent a letter, which was presented to the house by Skippon; in which they insisted on the same topics, lamented that designs were formed against them, and declared that they could not engage for Ireland, till they were satisfied in their expectations; and had their just desires granted.

The army, sensible of their power, resolved to be master, while the parliament formed the resolution to preserve their dominion if possible; but it was not easy for them to employ any effectual expedient for that purpose. That they now made use of was the worst imaginable. They sent Skippon, Cromwell, Fleetwood and Ireton, all favourite commanders with the army, to the head quarters at Saffron Walden in Essex, with offers, that a considerable proportion of their arrears should be paid them on their disbanding, and the remainder paid as the necessities of the kingdom would permit; that an ordinance should be suddenly brought in for the indemnity of all who had acted in obedience to the parliament, and that the commissioners should endeavour to allay the *distempers* of the army. The officers declared that they knew nothing of *distempers*, but a great deal of grievances, which they could not take upon them to represent, without collecting the sense of the  
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the private men in the army. The very generals who were sent to the army were the concealed promoters of the discontent; and by their suggestions a measure was embraced which brought matters to an extremity. A military parliament was formed, in opposition to the parliament at Westminster: The principal officers formed a council after the model of the house of peers, while the army chose their representatives, by electing two private men, or inferior officers, under the title of agitators, from each troop or company.

This court, when assembled, voted the offers of parliament unsatisfactory: eight weeks pay, which was all that was promised, they observed, was a small part of fifty-six, which were in arrear: that no visible security was given for the remainder; and the army having been declared public enemies by the commons, they might hereafter be prosecuted as such, unless the declaration was recalled. Before matters came to this height, Cromwell had posted up to London, to lay before the parliament the rising discontents of the army.

The parliament now made another vigorous effort to try the force of their authority; and voted that all the troops which did not engage for Ireland, should be instantly disbanded in their quarters. On the other hand, the council of the army ordered a general rendezvous of all the regiments, in order to provide for their common interest; and while they thus prepared to oppose the parliament, they struck a blow,

a blow, which at once decided the victory in their favour.

On the third of June, a party of 500 horse, conducted by Joyce, who had once been a taylor, but was now advanced to the rank of a cornet, appeared at Holdenby; and without being opposed by the guard, came into the king's presence, armed with pistols, and told him, that he must immediately go with him. *Whither, said the king? To the army, returned Joyce. By what warrant, asked the king? Joyce pointed to the soldiers who were drawn up in the inner court, and were tall, handsome men, well mounted and armed. Your warrant, said Charles, smiling, is written in fair characters, legible, without spelling. The king fearing some violence, refused to stir, unless the parliament's commissioners were permitted to go along with him. This was complied with: these commissioners came into the room, and asked Joyce, whether he had any orders from the parliament? He said, No. From the general? No. By what authority he came? He again pointed to the soldiers. They told him, they would write to the parliament to know their pleasure. You may do so, replied Joyce; but in the mean time the king must immediately go with me.* Resistance was in vain. The king, after delaying the time as long as he could, stepped into his coach, and was safely conducted to the army, who were marching to their rendezvous at Triploe-heath, near Cambridge.



The parliament, on being informed by their commissioners of this event, were thrown into the utmost consternation; and Fairfax himself was no less surprized at the king's arrival, he being entirely unacquainted with the bold measure executed by Joyce. The orders being verbal, no body avowed them: but while every one appeared astonished at the enterprize, Cromwell, by whose counsel it had been directed, arrived from London, and put an end to their deliberations. The king was now at Childersley, an house belonging to Sir John Cutts, within four miles of Cambridge; and thither Sir Thomas Fairfax, with all the general officers, went to pay their compliments to him. Sir Thomas not only disowned his having any knowledge of Joyce's enterprize, but earnestly entreated the king to return back to Holdenby with the parliament's commissioners, to which he said, he would order him to be reconducted with a strong guard. But the king, on his finding that there was no danger of assassination, was so pleased with the cajolment of Joyce and the army, that he refused the general's offer, though he used many arguments to persuade him to comply.

The parliament, on seeing a formidable force advance upon them, were struck with a panic, and found all their resources greatly inferior to the present necessity. London still retained a strong attachment to the Presbyterians; and its militia, which was numerous, and had acquired reputation in the wars, had, by a late ordinance, been put into hands in whom the  
parliament

parliament could confide. They were now called out, and ordered to guard a line which had been drawn round the city, in order to secure it against the king. Orders were given for instantly levying a body of horse; and many officers who had been cashiered on new modelling the army, offered their service to the parliament. An army of 5000 men lay in the north, commanded by general Pointz, who was a Presbyterian; but these were too distant to be employed in so urgent a necessity. Many inland garrisons were commanded by officers of the same party; but their troops being so much dispersed, could at present be of no service. The Scots were faithful friends, and zealous for Presbytery and the covenant; but it would require a long time for them to collect their forces, and march to the parliament's assistance.

The parliament now endeavoured to reconcile themselves to the public, by passing a second self-denying ordinance, that no member should receive the profit of any office, grant, or sequestration from parliament: that the benefits such members have received, shall be paid to the committee of accounts, for the use of the commonwealth: that the lands and estates of all the members shall be liable to the payment of their debts. A day was even fixed for hearing informations against the members; and it was resolved, that no member should hereafter receive reparations for damages or losses sustained by these troubles, till the public debts were paid.

On the other hand, the army, on their assembling at a general rendezvous, entered into a solemn engagement, that they would not suffer themselves to be disbanded nor divided, till they had received full satisfaction, with respect to all their grievances, and full security, that when they were disbanded, they should not remain subject to the oppressions and injuries which had been attempted against them. Immediately after this engagement the army began their march, and advanced to St. Albans; and from thence the principal officers sent a letter to the city, in which they complained, that there were certain members of parliament who strove to engage the kingdom in a new war: they asserted, that they had no intention to alter the civil government, to prevent the settling of Presbytery, or to molest the citizens, if they did not assist their enemies. In answer to a message which the parliament sent by a new set of commissioners, to know what were the desires of the army, they sent up a declaration, in which they observed, that they were not a mere mercenary army, hired to serve any arbitrary power of state, but called forth by the several declarations of parliament, to the defence of their own and the people's just rights and liberties, against arbitrary power, violence, and oppression; and rested their cause on the rights of nature, the laws of equity, and that rule of reason, which would teach a body of men to keep their arms in their hands, till the purposes were answered for which they took them up.

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The parliament was now obliged to give way to the present necessity; new commissioners, with additional powers, were sent down to the army, both by the city and parliament. The levies made in the city were discharged; the raising of sixty thousand pounds a month was voted for the maintenance of the army, and the service of Ireland; considerable sums were sent down, to give them present satisfaction; and the eleven members whom they had accused were persuaded to ask, and were readily granted, the leave of the house for absenting themselves, till the present jealousies were subsided.

These conciliatory measures had their effect; and the army, at the parliament's desiring them to remove to a greater distance from London, fixed their head quarters at Reading, taking the king with them in all their marches.

Charles now found himself in a more agreeable situation than when at Holdenby. All his friends had access to him, his correspondence with the queen was not interrupted: he was allowed his chaplains, and the use of the liturgy: his children were permitted to visit him, and passed a few days with him at Caversham, where he then resided. He had not seen either his youngest son, the duke of Gloucester, or the princess Elizabeth, since his leaving London, at the commencement of the civil disorders; nor the duke of York, since he went to the Scottish army. Cromwell, who was present at the meeting of the royal family, observed, that he never had beheld a more ten-

der scene; and, as the king passionately loved his family, this instance of indulgence was extremely grateful to him.

Both Cromwell, and the leaders of all parties, now paid their court to the king; and after all his calamities, fortune seemed again to smile upon him. The parliament, anxious lest he should form some accommodation with the army, treated him with greater respect, as did also the principal officers, who, on all occasions, talked of restoring him to his just powers and prerogatives. The king now began to feel his consequence; and the more the national confusions encreased, the greater was his confidence, that all parties would, at last, have recourse to his authority, as the only remedy for putting an end to the public disorders. A people without government; a parliament without authority; and an army without a legal master, offered a scene of confusion, which could not long continue; and he hoped, that all men would be brought to reflect on that ancient government, under which they and their ancestors had so long enjoyed peace and tranquillity.

Though the king listened to all proposals, and expected to hold the balance between the opposite parties, he entertained most hopes from an accommodation with the army. He had experienced the extreme rigour of the parliament, and now found more indulgence from the opposite party; besides, in the proposals sent by the council of officers, for the settlement of the nation, they insisted neither on  
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the abolition of episcopacy, nor on the punishment of the royalists, to both which the king had an extreme reluctance; and they demanded, that a period should be put to the present parliament; an event for which he ardently longed. He therefore flattered himself, that by gratifying a few persons with titles and preferments, he might draw over the whole military power, and instantly recover his authority. He offered the lieutenancy of Ireland to Ireton, and to Cromwell, the title of earl of Essex, the garter, and the command of the army. Negotiations for this purpose were secretly carried on with Cromwell, who kept the door open for an accommodation.

Mean while rumours continually prevailed in the camp, that the adverse party in London were making great preparations, in order to overthrow all their concessions, in favour of the army: that the enlisting soldiers was carried on in a clandestine manner, and that there was a great talk of succours being expected from Scotland. These rumours made them petition, that a declaration should be published against bringing in foreign forces, and that the militia of London should be speedily put into those hands who had formerly given extraordinary testimonies of their fidelity to the parliament and the kingdom. On the receipt of this petition, the parliament immediately declared, that whosoever should bring in foreign forces, without the consent of both houses, should be deemed traitors; and instantly restored the government of the militia of London



don to the Independents, from whom it had been taken.

By this unlimited acquiescence, the Presbyterians hoped to prevent a rupture with the army, till they had a favourable opportunity for recovering their power and influence: but soon after a petition, contradicting some of the demands of the army, was presented to the parliament by the common-council of London. The commotions in the city every hour increased; soldiers were publicly enlisted; and on the twenty-sixth of July\*, a crowd of apprentices, and others, presented a petition to the commons, that the late ordinance for the change of the militia, should be immediately repealed, and that the eleven members accused by the army, should take their seats in the house. This threw the commons into an anxious debate, which, taking up more time than the impatience of the petitioners could bear, they threw stones in at the windows, and almost beat down the door of the house. The lords and commons finding that resistance would be in vain, at length voted, that the late ordinance for settling the militia of London, should be null and void. The commons then adjourned till the next day; but the speaker, and most of the members, were obliged to resume their places, and to vote, that the king should be invited to come to London.

The news of this tumult no sooner reached Reading, than the army was put in motion, and

advanced with speed to the capital, to chastise, as they said, the seditious rabble; to vindicate the invaded privileges of parliament, and to restore that assembly to its just freedom in debate and counsel. In their way to London, they drew up on Hounslow heath, to the number of 20,000: and there they were met by the speakers of both houses in their formalities, by nineteen peers and a hundred commissioners; who having secretly retired from the distracted city, applied to the army for defence and protection, against the violence of the multitude. This favourable event, which gave a legal colouring to the proceedings of the army, filled them with joy; they rent the air with their shouts and acclamations; and the same respect was paid to them, as if they had been the full parliament of England.

When the two houses met, after a short adjournment, to their great surprize they missed both their speakers; and, on enquiry, were informed, that they had been seen in the road to the camp, accompanied by several of the peers and commons. Upon which the lord Grey was chosen speaker of the upper house, and Mr. Henry Pelham of the lower. The eleven accused members now resumed their seats among the commons; and both houses being pretty well thinned of the Independent party, it was resolved, that the king should come to his parliament with honour and safety; that the order for putting the land forces under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax, did not extend to the militia or garrisons; that the committee

mittee of safety should grant commissions to all such commanders of horse, foot, and dragoons, as they should think fit, for the service and safety of the king, kingdom, parliament, and city. The committee chose major-general Massey commander in chief, and ordered, that all reformadoes, and other officers, should the next day appear in St. James's field, and the forces already enlisted to be formed into regiments.

While the Presbyterians in the capital were enjoying a short-lived triumph, the army approached; and Rainsborough being sent by the general with a party over the river, appeared before Southwark, and was gladly received by the soldiers quartered there for its defence. The citizens, who, on hearing that the army had halted, had made the streets resound with, *One and all! one and all.* And on a contrary intelligence, had cried out, *Treat and capitulate!* were now quite dejected, and struck with the dread of being pillaged and murdered. The common-council had the courage to write to the general, that understanding the army only intended to restore the seceding members to their places in parliament, the city was ready to concur with him in that design. Fairfax answered, that they should desert the impeached members, relinquish their militia, deliver up all their forts and line of communication, with the Tower of London, and all its magazines; disband their forces, demolish their works, and suffer the whole army to march without interruption through the city.

Humiliating

Humiliating as were these demands, they submitted; and, to the honour of the army, though they marched through the city in triumph, they behaved with the greatest order and decency; and preserved rather the appearance of humility, than of insult. The two speakers, with the rest of the seceding members, were conducted by the army to Westminster, and resumed their seats in both houses, who now ratified every measure the army had taken: Sir Thomas Fairfax was appointed constable of the Tower, and declared generalissimo, with a power to place or displace what officers he thought proper, and to annihilate the London militia: he was invited to come and receive the thanks of both houses; a committee of parliament was appointed, to discover the persons concerned in the late tumults; and all reformed officers and soldiers were ordered to depart, and not to come within twenty miles of London.

The king's situation during this contest between the civil and military powers, had been very flattering to his hopes. The army, besides their indulgence to the king, had, in all their addresses to the parliament, recommended moderation in their treatment of the cavaliers; and when the liberties and privileges of the subject were firmly established, a due regard to the king's pretensions. The consequence of this conduct was fortunate: it prevented the dreaded coalition between the Scotch and English Presbyterians with the royalists; for the latter were so elated by these favourable appearances,

ances, that Sir John Berkeley and Mr. John Ashburnham were sent by the queen, to promote a firm union between the king and the army. These agents found both the general officers and agitators, to appearance, well disposed to agree with the king on terms of safety to the commonwealth; and proposals were drawn up by general Ireton, to be offered to the parliament, in which the interest of the Presbyterians, Independents, and even the royal party, were, in some measure, comprized.

The king lost this favourable return of unexpected fortune by the duplicity of his conduct. The Scotch commissioners, who had sent several remonstrances to the parliament, for a speedy agreement with the king, were permitted, among others, to pay their respects to the royal prisoner. In these interviews, some advances were made for a junction of the Scotch Presbyterians and the English Cavaliers; and a treaty was actually commenced for another Scotch invasion. The parliament had, during their contest with the army, sent to press the king, so far to countenance their cause, as to acknowledge himself under a disagreeable restraint with the army, and Charles, thus courted from every quarter, endeavoured to keep upon good terms with all, and to strike in with those who would make the greatest sacrifices to his prerogatives. He therefore sent word to the parliament, that he had been carried from Holdenby against his will; and they were not to give any credit to what he should write, while under confinement. To the army he expressed his  
willingness

willingness to stay with them, and his satisfaction at being delivered from the restraint the parliament had laid him under: and to the Scotch commissioners, he promised almost every thing they could ask, provided they would commence a new war in his favour.

The king, elevated with ill grounded hopes, and filled with airy projects, when the proposals were sent him by the army, and his concurrence humbly and earnestly desired, talked to the committee who brought them, not only with haughtiness, but with asperity; and, contrary to the earnest desire of his present keepers, insisted on his being removed to Richmond, according to an invitation of both houses of parliament. This was owing to the promises of the Scots, and to the design at this time carrying on in the city to bring the king in with freedom, safety, and honour.

Soon after, when the army had made themselves masters of the city, the parliament renewed their applications to the king, and presented him the same conditions which they had formerly sent to Newcastle: but the king declined accepting them, and desired a personal treaty with the parliament, on the proposals of the army, which had now been presented in form to both houses; and even Cromwell and Ireton, with their partizans in the house, pressed with great earnestness the king's desire for a personal treaty, but without effect. The Republicans, who had hitherto considered them of their party, began to suspect, that they had made a private bargain with the king; and



joining with the Presbyterians, carried the question against them. The majority of the army, who were enraged at the manner in which the king had treated their proposals, were no less dissatisfied with the behaviour of their leaders; and murmured against them in private, as the betrayers of the cause. The agitators, when assembled, complained of the king's being suffered to hold continual cabals with the malignants, and asserted, that as he had rejected their proposals, they were no farther engaged to him: that the power having now devolved to them by the decision of the sword, to which all parties had appealed, they ought to consult their own safety, and the public good; and being convinced, from experience, that monarchy was inconsistent with the prosperity of the nation, they would endeavour to reduce the government to the form of a commonwealth.

These proceedings alarmed Fairfax, Ireton, and Cromwell; and the latter was greatly exasperated at finding himself on the brink of being disappointed of his interested views. In a council of war, a general rendezvous was appointed, in which it was hoped, the majority of the army would adhere to the proposals made to the king: but on their meeting, those who called themselves commonwealth men, and in derision were stiled levellers, appeared with papers in their hats, on which were the motto, "England's liberty, and the soldiers rights." On which Cromwell, attended by several officers whom he had preferred, immediately rode up

up to one of the regiments thus distinguished, and in a peremptory manner, required them to take those papers from their hats; on their refusing obedience, he caused several of the ring-leaders to be seized by the soldiers who accompanied him; and holding a council of war in the field, one of them was condemned, and immediately shot, and the rest committed to close confinement. This unexpected act of resolution so confounded the discontented troops, who were unprepared for this event, that they readily obeyed Cromwell's commands; and the army being dispersed in their quarters, he went to give an account of this exploit to the parliament, from whom he received the highest encomiums.

The discontent of the army had arisen to such a height against the king, and against those whom they believed sided with him, that Cromwell and others forbore their former intimacies with his confidants. Cromwell himself intimated, that the army had ill designs, and that it was not in his power to undertake for the king's security. This, with the king's being abridged of the liberty he had been suffered to enjoy, made this unfortunate prince conclude that his life was in danger, and to think of making his escape; and after several proposals being made, and objected to, it was at length determined between the king and Mr. Ashburnham, on whose judgment the king then chiefly confided, that he should seek for protection from lieutenant-colonel Hammond,

governor of the Isle of Wight, an intimate friend of Cromwell's.

Having secured a relay of horses, Charles, in the evening of the eleventh of November 1647, stole away from Hampton-court, where he then resided, attended only by Sir John Berkeley, Ashburnham, and Leg. His escape was not discovered till near an hour after, when those who entered his chamber found some letters on the table, directed to the parliament, to the general, and to the officer to whom he was entrusted. After meeting with many difficulties in passing through Windsor forest, in a dark stormy night, he arrived the next day at the earl of Southampton's seat, at Titchfield. From thence he dispatched Ashburnham and Berkeley to the Isle of Wight, to inform Hammond of his intention. Hammond, at this unexpected intelligence, turned pale, and trembled, exclaiming, "O gentlemen you have  
 " undone me, in bringing the king into the  
 " island, if, indeed, you have brought him;  
 " and if you have not, pray do not let him  
 " come; for, what between my duty to him,  
 " the gratitude for his majesty's confidence,  
 " and the discharge of my trust to the army,  
 " I shall be confounded." However, having informed Hammond of the place where the king lay concealed, they took him with them to Titchfield, and the king putting himself into his hands, he returned with him to the Isle of Wight.

The parliament, upon hearing of the king's flight, passed an ordinance, declaring, that all  
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who should harbour or conceal him, should suffer death and confiscation of goods; the ports were stopped, and all who had borne arms for the king, were banished to the distance of twenty miles from London: but on the arrival of letters from colonel Hammond, the hopes and fears of all parties subsided. It was then voted, that he should be confined in Carisbrook-castle, in the Isle of Wight, and all his partizans restrained from entering the island.

When Charles retired from the camp, he intended to carry on, in some place of security, two opposite treaties, into which he had entered, the one with his Scotch subjects, and the other with the general officers of the army. In pursuance of this plan, letters were sent by Sir John Berkeley to Fairfax, Cromwell, and Ireton. Hammond, who had treated his prisoner with the utmost courtesy and humanity, accompanied Charles's dispatches, with others of his own, to Ireton and Cromwell, in which he used many arguments and entreaties, to persuade them to agree speedily with the king. Berkeley, on his way to the camp, heard, that the agitators had dropped something concerning bringing the king to a trial. When he arrived at the general's quarters, and had delivered his compliments and letters, he had the mortification to be told by Fairfax, with a stern look, in the midst of a full assembly of officers, that the army was the parliament's, and therefore they must refer the king's motion for peace to their principals, to whom they would send the  
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letters.

letters. Berkeley looked round for comfort on his old acquaintances, Cromwell and Ireton, who not only treated him coldly, but appeared displeased at the letters delivered to them from Hammond.

Berkeley, filled with melancholy apprehensions, retired to his lodging ; and at twelve at night met, in an unsuspected place, Watson, the scout-master-general, who told him, that the army had resolved to bring the king to a trial ; that the officers were obliged to submit to the sense of the mutineers ; that Cromwell, being fully informed, that this was the resolution of the majority, had laid aside his former opposition ; and acknowledged, that his eyes had been so dazzled with the glories of the world, as not to see clearly the great works the Lord was doing ; and declared his resolution to humble himself, and to desire the prayers of the saints, that God would be pleased to forgive him his self-seeking ; and that with these arts, and the assistance of Hugh Peters, a famous Independent minister, he had made a full peace with the party he had offended. Berkeley soon after sent a messenger to Cromwell, to let him know, that he had particular letters of instruction to him ; but was answered, that Cromwell durst not venture to see him ; and that though he would serve his majesty as long as he could do it without his own ruin, yet he hoped he would not expect that he would perish for his sake.

Berkeley lost no time in informing the king of his danger, and earnestly entreated him to lay

lay aside all schemes, but that of his immediate escape : but Charles thinking the danger not so great as he represented it, renewed his offers to the two houses for a personal treaty, and accompanied them with proposals for a peace. Notwithstanding the king's former denial, the parliament had, before his removal from the army, voted to address him once more on the subject of peace ; and it was now resolved to admit the king to a personal treaty, on condition of his giving his assent to four preliminary articles : the first, that the parliament should have the militia under their power during twenty years ; the second, that the king should recall all his proclamations against the parliament ; and acknowledge, that they had taken arms for their just and necessary defence : the third, that he should annul all the acts and patents of peerage, which had passed the great seal, since its being conveyed from London by chancellor Lyttleton ; and the fourth, that he should give the two houses power to adjourn when they thought fit.

The parliament's resolution to renew their offers of agreement with the king were disagreeable to the majority of the Republicans ; both as it disappointed their schemes, and as they apprehended, that if Charles was restored to any part of his former power, it would enable him to recover the remainder, to gratify his own party, and to take revenge on them. The Scotch commissioners, for different reasons, protested against the four preliminary articles : but both houses adhering to the resolution, the  
 Scotch



Scotch commissioners attended the committee appointed to wait on the king, and were so successful in their private insinuations and promises, that the unhappy Charles returned a refusal to the offers of the parliament; and thus rejected his last opportunity of providing for his safety and security.

The king had been told by Sir John Berkeley, that his sending an absolute negative, would occasion his being so strictly confined, as to render it impossible for him to escape. To this Charles assented; yet depended on the success of delivering his answer, sealed up, to the parliament's commissioners. But they, on receiving it, refused to take it sealed; and on their opening it, and seeing its contents, abruptly departed. Hammond, who, till now, had indulged the king in riding about the island at his pleasure, and had been so successful in his expostulations to the parliament, as to procure him the attendance of his own servants, with the company of his friends and partizans, now perceiving, that he had closed with the Scots, in opposition to the interest of England, doubled the guards round the castle, barred the gates, and sending the king's attendants out of the island, prevented every possible means of escape.

Both houses, on receiving the king's denial, were put into a flame; and the Republicans now advanced those opinions which had hitherto only transpired in their private councils. Sir Thomas Wroth proposed, that articles of impeachment should be drawn up against him; that

that he should be set aside, and the kingdom settled without him. Commissary Ireton asserted, that the king, by denying the four bills, had denied safety and protection to his people. Subjection to a sovereign, he observed, was but a return for protection; and that being denied by the king, subjection ought to be withheld. Cromwell, who spoke last in the debate, after declaiming some time on the valour, good affections and godliness of the army, said, that it was now expected, that the parliament should govern and defend the kingdom by their own power and resolution; and not teach the people any longer to expect safety and protection from a man whose heart God had hardened; observing, that those who had defended them from so many dangers at the expence of their blood, would defend them in this, with fidelity and courage, against all opposition. In short, on calling the question, That the lords and commons declare, that they will make no farther addresses or application to the king, the vote passed in the affirmative, by a hundred and forty-one voices against ninety-two: and the parliament, to refresh the memory of the public, with respect to the provocations and reasons, which had excited them to make use of these severities, published a long declaration, in which were mentioned all the errors of the king's administration.

Mean while the king, notwithstanding his close confinement, carried on his negotiations for overwhelming the Independents. The Scots, with whom he had concluded a treaty, were,  
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with all possible diligence, to raise an army, in order to assist the king's friends in the recovery of his rights \*. The most violent of the Presbyterians had promised their countenance and support; the cavaliers were to keep themselves in readiness, to rise on the first favourable opportunity; and assurances were given of the king's receiving large succours from abroad.

At this time three parties prevailed in Scotland: the royalists, who were for restoring the king's authority, without any regard to articles of religion: the rigid Presbyterians, who determined to give him no assistance till he should subscribe the covenant; and these were governed by Argyle: the moderate Presbyterians, who strove to reconcile the interests of religion and of the crown; and hoped, by supporting the Presbyterian party in England, to reinstate both the king and the parliament in their just authority and freedom; and the leaders of this party were the two brothers, Hamilton and Laneric.

Hamilton obtained a vote from the Scotch parliament to arm 40,000 men, in support of

\* Lord Clarendon acknowledges, that the king was induced to sign this treaty by the same vicious motives which tainted all his counsels; that it was not to be observed farther than it served the present turn; for when the armies, which were to be raised for the king in England, had joined with the Scots, they would not have power to exact what he promised, for every body would then be obliged to submit to what his majesty should think fit to be done.

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the king's authority, and to call over a considerable body of forces under Monro, who commanded in Ireland; and though he openly asserted, that the covenant was the foundation of all his measures, he secretly formed an alliance with the English royalists, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and Sir Philip Musgrave, who had seized on the towns of Berwick and Carlisle. At the same time Langhorn, Poyer, and Powell, three Presbyterian officers, who commanded bodies of troops in Wales, encouraged by the promise of a considerable supply of money and ammunition from the queen, assembled a great number of mutinous disbanded soldiers, and declared for the king. Mean while, to confound the hopes, and, if possible, dismay the courage of the Independents, seventeen ships lying in the mouth of the river declared for the king; and putting Rainsborough, their admiral, on shore, and sailing over to Holland, submitted first to the command of the duke of York, and then to the prince of Wales, who came from Paris for that purpose. An insurrection was raised in Kent by young Hales and the earl of Norwich. Lord Capel, Sir George Lisle, and Sir Charles Lucas, excited commotions in Essex; and the earl of Holland, who had several times changed sides in the civil wars, endeavoured to assemble forces in Surrey.

The house of commons being now thinned of the Independent members, who were employed in their military occupations, the Presbyterians in parliament seized this favourable opportunity of restoring the king, on terms  
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that would secure the liberties and privileges of the parliament and people. The city, encouraged by the distance of the army, petitioned to be restored to the command of the militia; that the imprisoned magistrates and citizens might be set at liberty, and that a personal treaty with the king might take place. These requests were no sooner made than granted. The parliament then countermanded the orders they had given Skippon to raise forces; the eleven impeached members were recalled; and the commons protested, in a declaration, that they would not alter the government of the kingdom, by the king, lords, and commons; that they were resolved to maintain the solemn league and covenant between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland; and that they would be ready to join the Scots, in the proposals agreed upon between the two kingdoms, and presented to his majesty at Hampton-court. In consequence of these resolutions, five peers and ten commoners were sent as commissioners to Newport, in the Isle of Wight, to renew the treaty with the king, who was now freed from the close restraint he had been under for some months.

Had the cavaliers not been strangely intoxicated with the tide of success, which seemed pouring in upon them, the army would have found it difficult to overcome the united force of almost the whole nation: but that party made such open discoveries of their designs, that the Presbyterians were soon convinced, that they intended to restore the king,  
without

without terms, and to ruin both the Presbyterians and Independents. Hence the parliament, dismayed with the view of their own danger, should the avowed intentions of the royalists take place, shrunk back, and became less forward.

In the mean time, no concert being observed in the several insurrections, they were, in a short time, subdued. The revolted troops in Wales having been attacked and defeated by colonel Horton, threw themselves into Pembroke-castle, where they were closely besieged and taken by Cromwell. Langdale and Musgrave, in the north, were opposed with success by Lambert. At Kingston, the earl of Holland was defeated and taken prisoner by Sir Michael Livesey. Lord Fairfax routed the Kentish men at Maidstone; and pursuing the broken troops, forced them, and the insurgents in Essex, to shut themselves up in Colchester; to which place he laid a formal siege: the earl of Warwick had the command of a new fleet; and the prince of Wales, after a fruitless attempt upon Yarmouth, and lying some time in the river Thames, where he took several of the rich merchant ships belonging to the city, was obliged to retire to Holland, whither he was pursued by Warwick; when the States having intimated, that they should not think themselves obliged to defend his ships, if they should be demanded by the English parliament, he resigned the command of them to prince Rupert, who sailed with the fleet to Ireland.



During these numerous transactions, the duke of Hamilton entered England with an army of 20,000 men; but the Cavaliers had, by their imprudence, created such distrust, that he did not dare to unite his forces with those commanded by Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and the two armies marched at some distance from each other. Lambert, who had been ordered by Cromwell not to engage with the Scots till he came up, retired before these invaders, and joined the lieutenant general; yet after this, the whole army under Cromwell did not exceed 8000 men; but as that commander had entertained great contempt for the Scots, he hurried to the place of action, as to a scene of certain victory. The cavaliers under Langdale were attacked by Lambert, and making a brave resistance, were many of them cut off, and the rest pursued into the Scots quarters. Hamilton was next attacked by Cromwell, and notwithstanding his troops amounted to 20,000, they were routed, and Hamilton being pursued to Utoxeter, surrendered himself prisoner. Cromwell following his advantage, marched into Scotland, where, being joined by Argyle, who was also in arms, he procured the surrender of Berwick and Carlisle, of which the Scots had taken possession on their entering England; and obliged Lanerick and Monro to lay down their arms.

In the mean while, the royalists shut up in Colchester had, from the hopes of their being relieved by the Scots, suffered the utmost extremities of famine; but at last desired to capitulate.

capitulate. Fairfax required them to surrender at discretion. The officers endeavoured in vain to persuade the soldiers, to make a vigorous sally, and to fight their way through the enemy, or to sell their lives as dearly as possible : but Fairfax having promised them pardon, they threatened to open the gates to their enemies, if their commanders did not surrender. This was complied with, and they were all spared, except Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle, the two chief commanders, who were both shot, and these brave men sacrificed, to what was then termed military justice.

It was the eighteenth of September before the treaty with the king commenced, and the king's partizans were all reduced, and Colchester taken before the conferences began. This, it was imagined, would have induced the king to have suspended all arguments, and to join the parliament on any terms : but it was far from having that effect. In order to accelerate business, the commissioners absolutely refused to permit his counsellors to be present, or to enter into reasoning with any but himself. Yet notwithstanding this, every minute article of the offered conditions was canvassed by both sides, for near two months : but in vain did Charles at last consent to recall his proclamations and declarations against the parliament, and to acknowledge that they had taken arms in their own defence ; that they should retain, during the term of twenty years, the whole power of the militia, with a right to resume it afterwards, when they should de-

clare it necessary for the public safety ; that all the great officers, during twenty years, should be filled by parliament ; that all the acts under their great seal should be valid, and those under his own, annulled ; that the entire government of Ireland, and the conduct of the war there, should be in both houses ; that the power of the wards should be given up, in lieu of 100,000*l. per annum* ; and that no peers should be created by him, without the consent of the lords and commons. The parliament's commissioners, with earnestness, and even tears, assured the king, that all his concessions would be useless, unless he gave up the point of episcopacy. This he absolutely refused, though he assented to the taking away archbishops, chancellors, commissaries, and all other subordinate ecclesiastical officers ; to confirm the present form of church government, for the term of three years, and to suspend the exercise of episcopal government, and the power of ordination in bishops, till the king and the two houses could agree concerning the point of church government. The king absolutely refused yielding farther on this article ; and the parliament voted, that his concessions were unsatisfactory.

The bigotry of the parliament was at least equal to that of the king ; not the least candor, the least religious liberty, was to be allowed even to the prince himself : for though the king appeared willing to renounce the Common Prayer, and only required the liberty of using some other liturgy in his own chapel,  
this

this reasonable demand was positively refused; and both the lords and commons shewed so little regard to the rights of conscience in other persons, that they passed a vote, that they could not consent to the indulgence desired by his majesty, of exempting the queen and her family from the penalties to be enacted against the exercise of the mass; and so far was this unchristian spirit carried, that, according to Hume, two of the parliamentary disputants told the king, that if he did not consent to the utter abolition of episcopacy, *he would be damned.*

The parliament had assigned forty days for the continuance of the treaty; and as it had been three different times prolonged, it had lasted near two months, when the army, who were now collected together after their victorious campaign, took an effectual measure to prevent any farther proceedings. A remonstrance, drawn up by the council of general officers at Windsor, was presented to the commons by the lord Fairfax, in the name of the whole army. It demanded justice on the king, for the evils he had brought on his people, whom, by the laws of religion, morality, and nations, he was bound to protect. It argued, that breach of trust in a governor, or his attempting, by force, to enlarge a limited power, effectually absolved the subjects from every bond of covenant and peace; and that the crimes the king had acted against his people, were the highest treasons against the highest law among men. It complained of the treaty

with the king, and challenged the parliament to shew one instance, when the re-admitting a prince, whom his people had opposed and subdued, to the regal office, state and revenue, ever proved safe to the interest of the public, or the persons engaged in the contest. It required a dissolution of the present parliament, and asserted, that though servants, they were entitled to represent these important points to their masters, who were themselves no better than servants and trustees of the people. The Independents, from all quarters, had preceded this remonstrance with numerous petitions of the like nature; and the different bodies of the army had addressed their general officers on the same subject. As the parliament had given no answer either to these petitions, or to the remonstrance of the army, Hammond, who had refused to deliver up the king, was commanded to attend the general at the head quarters, and was confined there till colonel Ewer was sent down to keep the king in strict custody; and a few days after, he was conveyed to Hurst-castle.

The Presbyterians, exasperated at these violent transactions, and assuming courage from despair, voted the seizing of the king's person to be without the consent of parliament; they sent to the general to know, by what authority that enterprize was executed; and issued orders, that the army should not approach the capital. In return, the army published a declaration, in which they charged the parliament with apostacy from the public trust re-  
posed

posed in them; and Fairfax, after writing to the city to advance him 40,000 l. marched several regiments to London, and quartered them in Palace Yard, Sir James's, Whitehall, the Mews, Durham-house, and Covent Garden. The parliament, though now encompassed by the army, and without any means of defence, attempted to close with the king; and, contrary to their former votes, that his concessions were not satisfactory, voted, that they were a foundation for the houses to proceed upon in the settlement of the kingdom. Additional regiments now arrived, and filled the suburbs of London; and as the citizens had not paid in the money demanded, the general sent three regiments into the city, and took out of Weaver's-hall the sum of 20,000 l. and assigned the reimbursement upon the arrears due to the army.

The next day the commons found their house blockaded by two regiments of horse, under the command of colonel Pride, who, directed by lord Grey of Groby, seized in the passage forty of the most obnoxious members of the Presbyterian party, and confined them in the court of Wards. Above an hundred and sixty members more were excluded; for none were allowed to enter, but the most determined of the Independents; and these did not exceed fifty or sixty. This incident was in derision called *Colonel Pride's Purge*.

The next day Cromwell entering the capital, took his seat in the house, when he received the thanks of the commons, who reversed their  
former



former vote; and again declaring the king's concessions unsatisfactory, determined, that no member who had been absent when this vote passed, should be received till he subscribed it; repealed every vote which had been made in favour of the king and his party; and also the vote for restoring the impeached members. The Presbyterians, however, had the spirit to publish, in the name of the secluded members, a narrative of the violence put upon them; with a protestation, that all acts transacted from that time by the commons, were legally void. The house declared this publication to be false, scandalous, seditious, and tending to the destruction of the fundamental government of the kingdom; and resolved, that all who had any hand in framing or publishing it, should be incapable of bearing any office, or of sitting as members of either house.

During these transactions, the council of officers were employed in drawing up a scheme of government, called, The agreement of the people; it being the plan of a republic, proposed to be substituted in the place of the ancient government.

Petitions now daily poured in from the garrisons, for speedy and effectual justice on all delinquents. Even the county of Somerset, though it had distinguished itself by its attachment to the king, presented a petition, that justice might be done on the chief delinquents; and the county of Norfolk even requested, that justice should be done on the king. Pursuant to the repeated requests of the army, and to these

these petitions, the commons appointed a committee of thirty-eight, to draw up a charge against the king; and on their report, a vote was passed, declaring it treason in a king to levy war against his parliament; and a special commission was appointed to try the monarch on these grounds. The declaratory vote and ordinance for the king's trial, were unanimously rejected by the lords, who, in order to obstruct the proceedings, instead of sending their determinations to the commons, adjourned for ten days. The commons suspecting their intentions, ordered their journals to be examined, when finding the ordinance utterly rejected, they abolished the negative voice of the king and lords; and resolved, that the people, under God, are the origin of all just power: that the commons of England, assembled in parliament, being chosen by, and representing the people, have the supreme authority of the nation: that whatever is enacted and declared to be law by the commons of England, assembled in parliament, has the force of law; and all the people are included therein, without the consent and concurrence of the king and house of peers.

Mean while the king, by the direction of the army, was removed from Hurst-castle to Windsor; by the same authority, every mark of royalty was withdrawn; and it was commanded, that he should be served by his attendants without ceremony. But even in this alarming situation, he was little apprehensive of his approaching fate; and could not yet believe,

lieve, that his enemies would really venture to proceed to a public trial and execution.

On the nineteenth of January 1649, all the circumstances of the trial were adjusted; and the high court of justice fully constituted. It consisted of a hundred and thirty-three persons, but there scarcely ever sat above seventy. This court was composed of the principal officers of the army, several members of the lower house, and some citizens of London. The twelve judges were, at first, appointed in the number; but they affirming, that it was contrary to the English laws to try the king for treason, their names, as well as those of some peers, were afterwards struck out. Bradshaw, a lawyer of eminence, was elected president: Coke was appointed solicitor for the people of England; and Dorislaus, Steele, and Aske, assistants to the court.

The pomp, the dignity, and ceremony of this transaction, corresponded to the greatness of the event; the delegates of a great people, sitting in judgment upon their supreme magistrate, a sovereign prince, and trying him before their own tribunal, for misgovernment and breach of trust. Denby, serjeant at arms to the house of commons, by beat of drum and sound of trumpet, proclaimed to the people, in the Palace Yard, at the Old Exchange, and in Cheapside, the time when the commissioners of the high court of justice were to commence their sitting; and that all who had any thing to say against the king would be heard.

On the twentieth of January, the commissioners proceeded in state from the Painted Chamber to Westminster-hall. The sword was carried by colonel Humphry before the president: the mace was carried by serjeant Denby, and twenty gentlemen commanded by colonel Fox, attended as his guard of partizans. The royal prisoner, who had been removed from Windsor to St. James's, was, by a strong guard of musqueteers, conveyed by water to Westminster-hall. A chair of crimson-velvet was prepared for him within the bar; and thirty officers and gentlemen waited behind it, with halberts in their hands. The solicitor, in the name of the commons, represented, That Charles Stuart being admitted king of England, and entrusted with a limited power, had, with the wicked design to erect an unlimited and tyrannical government, treacherously and maliciously levied war against the people and their representatives: that on the behalf of the people, he, for this treasonable breach of trust, impeached him as a tyrant, a traitor, a murderer, and a public and implacable enemy to the commonwealth.

The king, on the conclusion of the charge, demanded by what authority he was brought before that court, and bad the commissioners remember he was their king, their lawful king; and to beware of the sins with which they were going to stain themselves and the land. The president answered, that he was tried in the name, and by the authority of the parliament assembled, and the good people of England.

Charles

Charles objected, that both the king and house of lords, were necessary to constitute a parliament; and added, he had a trust committed to him by God, by old and lawful descent, and would not betray it, by answering to a new and unlawful authority: he again bad the commissioners remember he was their hereditary sovereign; and that the whole authority of the state, when free and united, was not entitled to try him, who derived his dignity from the supreme Majesty of Heaven: that admitting those extravagant principles, which placed the origin of power in the people, the court could plead no authority delegated by the people, unless the consent of every individual, down to the meanest, the most ignorant peasant, had been previously asked and obtained: that there was no jurisdiction on earth could try a king; the authority of obedience to kings being clearly and strictly commanded both in the Old and New Testament: this, if denied, he was ready instantly to prove; “Where the word of a king is, there is power, and who may say unto him, What dost thou?” He owned, that a sacred trust had been committed to him by God, the liberties of his people, which he would not betray, by acknowledging a power founded on violence and usurpation: he had taken arms, and frequently exposed his life in defence of public liberty, of the constitution, of the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and was now willing to seal with his blood, those precious rights for which he had so long, in vain, contended. To this the president

sident answered, How great a friend, Sir, you have been to the laws and liberties of the people, let all England, and the world, judge : your actions have sufficiently declared it, and your meaning has been written in bloody characters throughout the kingdom. Charles returned, That the laws of England determine, that *The king can do no wrong* ; he was, however, able, he added, to justify his conduct by the most satisfactory reasons ; but must forego the apology of his innocence, lest, by ratifying an authority, no better founded than that of robbers and pirates, he should be justly branded as the betrayer, instead of being applauded as the martyr of the constitution.

The king was produced three several days before the court, and as often declined their jurisdiction. On the fourth, the commissioners having examined witnesses, who proved, that the king had appeared in arms against the people, proceeded to pronounce sentence against him. Before the sentence was passed, he earnestly desired to be admitted to a conference with the two houses ; observing, that he had something to propose, which he was sure would be for the welfare of the kingdom, and the liberty of the subject. It was supposed, that he intended to offer to resign the crown to his son ; and some of the commissioners pressed that he might be heard ; but the majority refused compliance ; and considered that request as nothing but a delay of justice : and the president passed sentence, that he should die, by severing his head from his body ; while all the



members of the court stood up, in token of approbation.

These proceedings awakened in every sovereign prince, a sense of horror and indignation. The French ambassador, by orders from his court, interposed in the king's behalf; the Dutch employed very earnest intercessions for the preservation of his life: the Scots exclaimed and protested: the prince wrote an ineffectual letter to the army, and the queen to the parliament. Four of the king's friends, Richmond, Hertford, Southampton, and Lindesey, applied to the commons. They observed, that they were the king's counsellors, and had concurred, by their advice, with all those measures which were now imputed to their royal master as crimes: that in the eye of the law, and according to the dictates of reason, they alone were guilty, and were alone exposed to censure for every blameable action of the prince; and that they now presented themselves, in order to save, by their own punishment, that precious life, which it became the commons themselves, and every subject, with the utmost hazard, to protect and defend. This generous effort, so much to their honour, was, however, of no advantage to the king.

Only three days were allowed Charles, between his sentence and execution. This interval he chiefly passed in reading and devotion; and from the time when his intended fate was made known to him, to his last moment, he preserved a perfect tranquility and composure; nor can his bitterest enemies deny,  
says

says Mrs. Macaulay, that in his conduct, under the dreadful apprehensions of a violent death, was united the magnanimity of heroism with the patience of martyrdom. All his family that remained in England, were allowed access to him. These only consisted of the princess Elizabeth and the duke of Gloucester, who was little more than an infant. The princess, notwithstanding her tender years, deeply felt the calamities of her family. The king, after giving her his advice and consolation, bade her tell the queen, that during the whole course of his life, he had never once, even in thought, failed in his fidelity towards her. He could not even forbear giving some advice to the young duke ; and holding him on his knee, he said, " Now they will cut off thy father's head." At this the child looked very steadfastly upon him, and he added, " Mark, child, what I say, they will cut off my head, and perhaps make thee a king : but thou must not be a king as long as thy brothers Charles or James are alive. They will cut off thy brothers heads, when they can catch them ! and thy head too, they will cut off at last ! And therefore I charge thee, do not be made a king by them !" The duke sighing, replied, " I will be torn in pieces first." This answer, from one of such tender years, is said to have filled the king's eyes with tears of joy and admiration.

The street before Whitehall was the place destined for the execution of the king. It is falsely asserted, that his rest was disturbed by

the noise of the workmen employed in building his scaffold ; for he lay at St. James's till the fatal morning, when having walked across the Park, he was carried from thence in a coach to Whitehall. On his coming upon the scaffold, he found it so surrounded with soldiers, that he could not hope to be heard, and therefore addressing himself in a speech to colonel Tomlinson and the commander of the guard, attempted to justify his innocence in the wars, and averred, that he had no other object in his military operations, than to preserve entire that authority, which had been transmitted to him by his ancestors. He insisted on his perfect innocence towards his people, but acknowledged the equity of his execution in the eyes of his Maker ; observing, that the unjust sentence now inflicted on him, was an equitable return for that which he had suffered to be inflicted on Strafford. He expressed his forgiveness of his enemies, and exhorted the people to return to the paths of obedience, by submitting to the government of their lawful sovereign, his son and successor. When he was preparing for the block, bishop Juxon said to him, " There is, Sir, but one stage more which, though turbulent and troublesome, is yet very short. Consider, it will soon carry you a great way ; it will carry you from earth to heaven ; and there you shall find, to your great joy, the prize to which you hasten, a crown of glory." " I go, returned the king, from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance can have place."

Then

Then laying his head upon the block, the executioner, whose face was concealed by a vizor, severed the head with one stroke from the body: another, in like disguise, held it up to the spectators, and cried aloud, " This is " the head of a traitor !"

After the king's death, the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, the earls of Southampton and Lindsey, were, at their express desire, permitted to pay their last duty to their master, who, by the appointment of the parliament, was decently, but without pomp, interred at Windsor; but colonel Witchcot, the governor of Windsor-castle, had the narrowness of spirit to deny them the use of the burial service, according to the book of Common Prayer.

Thus, by a fate unparalleled in the annals of princes, fell Charles Stuart, on the thirtieth of January 1649, in the forty-ninth year of his age, a prince whose principles, conduct, fortune, and death, by powerfully working on opposite affections, according to their different views and interests, have given rise to a bitter and irreconcilable contest. He was represented by a considerable party, as a martyr to the church; as the patron of the clergy, and the support of the nobility; and these have adorned him with every flower of panegyric. The bigots of a different persuasion have applauded his fate, and held his memory in the highest detestation; but the liberal and humane, however zealous in the cause of liberty, equally condemn and pity him. Indeed, to a

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mind softened by habits of amusement, and filled with ideas of self-importance, the melancholy transition from royal pomp to a prison; from an easy, gay, and luxurious life, to a premature and violent death, by the hands of an executioner, are punishments so sharp and affecting, that it naturally excites the tenderest sympathy for the suffering prince; we are apt to overlook the designing tyrant, to dwell on his hardships, and forget his crimes. Compassion is the constant attendant of liberal minds; and the commiseration of Charles's singular and unfortunate fate, but for the interests of truth, and the violence of his partizans, would have inclined all such to have thrown the mantle of oblivion over the dark parts of his character, and only to have remembered, that he bore his sufferings in a manner which would have done honour to the best cause. But the impartiality required in history, renders it necessary to scrutinize, with exactness, his principles, conduct, and character; since, from the false colourings which have been thrown on these, consequences have been drawn destructive to liberty, and the welfare of society\*.

Charles was of a middle stature, healthy, strong, and justly proportioned; his face was regular and handsome, and his aspect melancholy, yet not unpleasing. His intellectual powers were naturally good, and so improved

\* Mrs. Macaulay.

by continued exercise, that though, in the beginning of his reign, he spoke with difficulty and hesitation, towards the close of his life, he discovered in his discourse, elocution and quickness of conception. But his high opinion of regal dignity made him observe a stateliness and imperiousness of manners, that were unamiable and offensive. He excelled in horsemanship; had a good taste, particularly in painting, and was even skilled in several of the polite arts; but though he was a proficient in some branches of literature, he was far from encouraging useful learning, and patronized none but those who endeavoured to prove the divine right of kings and bishops. Passion for power, and fondness for his regal prerogative, were his governing principle: in his eye, the interests of his crown legitimated every measure. The prelates of the church of England paid him the grossest flattery, and inculcated a slavish dependence on the regal authority; by which means they kept an interest in his heart, which continued to the last period of his life. His suffering the cruel rigours of the court of star-chamber, shew, that neither clemency, humanity, nor equity, made any part of his character. He was, however, undeniably possessed of the virtues of temperance, fortitude, and personal bravery; but his want of integrity is manifest in every part of his conduct; and this losing him the fairest opportunities of reinstating himself in the throne, appears to have been the only vice for which he paid the tribute of his life.

A few



A few days after the king's execution, was published a work in the king's name, entitled *Icon Basilicæ*, consisting of prayers and meditations, which had such effects, that Milton compares them to those which were wrought on the tumultuous Romans, by Anthony's reading to them the will of Cæsar. It passed thro' fifty editions within one year; and many have not scrupled to ascribe to this book, the restoration of the royal family. Nothing is more difficult than to fix an impartial opinion, with respect to this production: for the proofs brought to evince that this work was, or was not, wrote by the king, are so convincing, that an impartial reader cannot peruse what has been said on either side, without thinking it almost impossible that arguments could be produced, sufficient to counterbalance such convincing evidence.

Charles's surviving issue were three sons and three daughters: Charles, prince of Wales, born in 1630; James, duke of York, in 1633; Henry, duke of Gloucester, in 1641; Mary, princess of Orange, born in 1631; Elizabeth in 1635; and Henrietta, afterwards dutchess of Orleans, in 1644.

On the death of Charles, the question, whether the people have, in any case, a right to depose and punish their sovereign, became the subject of the most violent debates. The sufferings of the deceased monarch, who was termed, the royal martyr, were compared to those of Christ; and, on account of his rank, represented as greater than those of the Redeemer;

deemer; and the crucifiers of their God were, in the works of several churchmen, and the sermons of divines, regarded as less worthy of detestation, than the murderers of their king. Monarchy was represented as a form of government of God's immediate appointment; kings as his sacred vicegerents, whom to resist was impious, to depose was damnable, and to punish was atrociously criminal, beyond the hope of mercy. It was alledged, that a parliament, from which most of its members are detained by force, can perform no constitutional act; nor can even the joint powers of both houses extend to the making war against, or dethroning their king, much less putting him to death. The oaths of supremacy and allegiance, with every form of law, being against it; for sovereignty, and a jurisdiction over sovereignty, is a contradiction in terms, and in all the addresses of the two houses to the king, they were so far from assuming superior or equal stations in the legislature, that they acknowledged a subordinate inferiority.

On the other hand, the partizans of liberty maintained, that kings are appointed for the good of the people, and when they degenerate into tyrants, forfeit their right to government: that oaths of allegiance are to be understood as constitutionally binding, according to the observance of the oaths kings make to their people: that to say a king is accountable to none but God, is neither founded on reason nor precept: that to say a king has as good a right to his crown, as another man has to his inheritance,

inheritance, is to make his subjects no better than slaves ; yet even on the supposition of hereditary right, there are crimes for which hereditary right is justly forfeitable : that the authority of the Scriptures, in the example of the Israelites, establishes the right of chusing and changing a government : that God himself gave the preference to a republic, as a more perfect form than monarchy : that weak and wicked princes might be resisted, deposed and slain, had been a favourite doctrine, and in part the practice of the Calvinistical divines \*. Considered in the light of reason, as government is the ordinance of man, it may be changed or altered according to the dictates of experience, and the better judgment of men ; and being instituted for the protection of the people, and for securing, not overthrowing, the rights of nature, is a trust either expressly admitted or supposed, and that magistracy is consequently accountable.

Indeed, to attempt the defence of these transactions, on the narrow bottom of constitutional forms, is to betray the cause of liberty, and to confound both truth and reason. " When a sovereign, says Mrs. Macaulay, by enlarging the limits of that power with which he is vested for the protection of the people, weakens the authority of laws, and consequently the security of the subject ; when, by breach of trust,

\* For instance, Calvin, Zuinglius, Bucer, Peter Martyr, and Knox. See *Milton's Tenure of kings and magistrates*.

he acts in opposition to the just ends for which government was instituted, and from a protector of the commonwealth, becomes an enemy, his trust and right to government, from that period, are forfeited \*, the tie of allegiance is dissolved, and the law and the constitution being rendered incapable of affording the subject protection, he is no longer bound by their forms or dictates, and may justly, by the right of self-preservation, take every probable means to secure himself from the lawless power and enterprizes of the tyrant. On these grounds, the parliament are to be defended in the war they made on the king. On these grounds the army, (as they profess in several declarations) supported their pretensions; not as servants to the dictates of a master, but as fellow-citizens, in support of equal liberty.

These and other arguments have been used in defence of this most extraordinary action. The reader will judge of their force, and determine, whether they answer the objections founded on the illegality and violence of the proceedings against the king. The abettors of them gloried, that they were performed in the

\* “ All power, says that admirable reasoner Mr. Locke, is given with trust for the attaining an end; being limited by that end, whenever that end is manifestly neglected or opposed, the trust must necessarily be forfeited, and the power devolve into the hands of those who gave it; who may place it anew, where they shall think best for their safety and security.” *Locke of Government.*

eye

eye of the world, and that an example was set to posterity, how to act in similar circumstances. May similar circumstances never happen! May the liberty of the subject be ever considered by the prince, as the firmest foundation of his throne! May no pretended patriot cover the dark designs of ambition, by a pretended zeal for the sacred cause of liberty! And by magnifying unavoidable mistakes and involuntary errors into crimes, ever endanger the throne of a sovereign who loves his people!

END OF THE TENTH VOLUME.